Psychological Monographs General and Applied

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The Appraisal of Parent Behavior

ALFRED L. BALDWIN
JOAN KALHORN
FAY HUFFMAN BREESE

S. S. Fels Research Institute for the Study of Human Development

(Accepted for publication, November 21, 1948)

Price \$1.50

Published by

THE AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, INC.

Publications Office

1515 MASSACHUSETTS AVE., N.W., WASHINGTON 5, D.C.

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THE Fels Parent Behavior Rating Scales have been in existence for eight years. First devised in 1937 by Dr. Horace Champney, they have, since then, been an integral part of the Fels Institute's research program. During this long period their usefulness in the appraisal of parent behavior has been thoroughly tested. In order to make this technique available to other agencies concerned with the parent-child relationship, it seems desirable to present an integrated description of the scales, including material which has heretofore appeared separately in articles as well as some not previously published.

This manual is intended to be a complete description of the Fels Behavior Rating Scales as a technique. It will, we hope, serve several functions:

- 1. To present a philosophy and a methodology for the appraisal of a child's home environment by rating methods.
- 2. To provide a handbook for the rater, with discussions of the scales and suggestions for obtaining the necessary evidence for rating.
- 3. To establish the reliability and validity of the scales.

- 4. To describe the methods now employed at the Fels Institute in the administration of the rating program. This will include statistical methods for checking the consistency of a rater and the agreement between various raters.
- 5. To illustrate the usefulness of the scales in the clinical interpretation of an individual home.

The authors wish to acknowledge their indebtedness to Dr. Champney, the author of the Fels Parent Behavior Rating Scales and of several descriptive publications. Numerous references will be made to his publications. During his association with the Institute, some of the reliability measures were calculated. These, together with additional material obtained by the authors themselves, are presented in Chapter III. The scales as presented in Part II are essentially the same as those previously published by Champney; the descriptive material accompanying each scale was prepared by the present authors in the light of our experiences with the battery. We wish also to acknowledge the assistance of various present and former members of the staff who contributed material or criticisms to this publication.

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PART I

CHAPTER I

THE RATING SCALE METHOD FOR STUDYING PARENT BEHAVIOR

C OCIAL workers, clinical psychologists, and child psychiatrists are forced by the circumstances under which they work to direct their attention to the individual human being. They cannot remain preoccupied with broad concepts but must translate abstractions into a program for individuals. Thus, it is not sufficient for them to know that rejection is a bad thing for children. They must decide whether an individual child is rejected and to what extent the rejection is causing maladjustment. Furthermore, they must determine whether the situation is best alleviated by changing the home, or by treatment of the parents or the child himself. And they must discover exactly how all these therapeutic measures are to be handled. They must decide what sort of attitude the child can be expected to have toward his parents and what attitude is most likely to lead to a good adult adjustment. The aid which social agencies do render attests to the judgment and skill of these clinical workers. They are not, however, satisfied, because they realize that their treatment of the individual case is based upon sophisticated insights rather than upon a well-formulated theory of personality.

The poverty of theory in child development may be illustrated by the inadequacy of our understanding of the overprotective parent. Such a parent displays numerous anxieties about his child's physical welfare, social status, moral stamina or intellectual achievement. He tries to indoctrinate the child by various coercive methods with the "proper" attitude. He is typically unwilling and unable to give the child

responsibility and emotional freedom. This type of parent is familiar to clinicians, but our knowledge of the detailed effect of such a home environment on a child is embarassingly scanty. Is the child more likely to rebel against parental standards, or will he conform? If the child has a very high IQ, is this likely to make it easier for him to accomplish his parent's desires, or, on the contrary, will it present obstacles by making him perceive the parent's essentially selfish interest in his achivements? Will an energetic child respond differently to such handling than the passive lethargic one? These questions are, at present, unanswered, and one of the reasons is that current theories of personality development are expressed in such abstract terms that their connection with the more immediately perceivable pattern of behavior is difficult to trace. People who are talented in clinical diagnosis can determine the motivation which underlies concretely observed behavior: since their abilities are not mystical, we know there must be behavioral criteria which make such an interpretation possible. But the formulation of this interpretive process in explicit terms which can be duplicated by people of different background and talents is a major objective still to be achieved.

The highly abstract character of current theory is not, of course, the only reason for our present ignorance of personality development. Equally important is the scarcity of factual research into such questions. A better knowledge of the facts of personality development would make it possible to test intel-

ligently various theories as well as modes of therapy. In other words, a technique for the scientific collection and recording of the facts of parent behavior is essential. One straightforward method of obtaining the necessary factual information from which adequate theories of child development might stem is to observe many individuals throughout childhood, continually appraising them and their home environments. Various aspects of this task have been purposefully undertaken in research centers, such as Fels Institute. The traditional method of recording information about homes and child development has been the case study. The advantages of this approach are numerous and have validity under certain circumstances. The flexibility of the medium allows great subtlety in the portrayal of personal interrelationships and the unique characteristics of any home situation. Equally important problems are created, however. A disproportionate amount of verbal skill is required to communicate these very subtleties to the other persons who may be involved with the case; that is, the skill required is disportionate in that the major feature of any clinician's job is insight into human behavior rather than literary talent. A second problem is attaining comparability of material. Since each home is considered primarily on the basis of the maladjustments which brought it to agency attention, elements in the situation which the worker judges irrelevant will not be described in his report. Each report, therefore, may contain a detailed analysis of some areas of the parent's behavior and relationship to the child but may entirely omit many other areas. Evidence for the worker's conclusions about the home, moreover, may be presented so

briefly as to be unconvincing to the next worker, who then must start anew to examine the case.

It seems likely, therefore, that some technique for collecting information about every home which is expressed in a standardized vocabulary and which includes a prescribed list of variables would be a valuable supplement to the usual clinical summary. If the variables to be studied are carefully selected so that they cover all the significant areas of parent-child interaction, maintaining at the same time universal applicability, and if in addition they are directly related to behavior which is immediately perceivable, the appraisal of each home is likely to be objective, reliable, significant, and inclusive. The use of a standardized vocabulary, provided it is suffciently extensive, sharpens the clinical observations of home visitors. It provides them with a framework in terms of which the observations themselves may be structured. Furthermore, the habit of observing all aspects of the home situation, whether they are obviously relevant to the immediate problem or not, is a valuable one to inculcate in clinicians provided that it can be done efficiently. The reports of visitors who structure their observations in terms of a list of standardized variables are likely to be more nearly comparable than are reports whose contents are not prescribed in any way. Finally, the value of such a technique of appraisal in any training program is obvious because it is among students that the dangers of biased observations are the greatest.

In the history of the Fels Research Institute, the problems of the scientific collection of data about the home environment arose very early. After considerable experimentation with various n

kinds of home visit reports, the present technique was gradually evolved. The home visitor writes a clinical summary comparable to that done by a social worker and, in addition, rates the home on a battery of thirty scales. These two records supplement each other. The clinical summary retains all the advantages of flexibility, affords opportunity for the analysis of motivation, and cites specific incidents which seem to epitomize important aspects of the home environment. The profile of the thirty ratings, on the other hand, provides the background of objective, quantitative, comparable information on every home which is essential for scientific research. This method of appraising the home has been quite successful in producing insightful clinical analysis of the individual cases in the study and fruitful research. It is in the hope that the rating scales will have value to other agencies who employ the home visit method that this monograph is being published.

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The fundamental assumption underlying the development of the scales is that the central figure in any clinical research is the clinician himself. Upon the validity of his judgments depends diagnosis or therapy or research. It is not possible at present to define any of the important psychological variables in the home situation in terms which do not require keen judgment and discrimination.

Faith in the validity of clinical judgments does not mean that the clinician must be given complete untrammeled freedom to judge only those variables which he pleases and to record his judgments in any form which seems desirable

to him. In fact, there is good evidence for believing that it is just such freedom which prevents the observer from the full use of his discriminatory powers. A technique which enables the clinician to record all the subtleties which he is able to perceive and which demands all the precision of which he is capable should increase the value of his opinions and make them more usable. The rating method is such a technique when the rating scales themselves are refined enough to reflect the precision of the observer.

This chapter has presented a basic philosophy which underlies the use of the Fels Parent Behavior Rating Scales in the program of the Fels Research Institute. The need in research in parent behavior for quantitative measurement permitting the comparison of homes has led to the development of a battery of scales to supplement the usual clinical summary. Such ratings, when properly designed and used, yield, in the form of reliable measurements, valuable information not ordinarily obtained by home visitors. The usefulness of these scales has depended from first to last on the conviction that the rating method could be precise and scientific. This conviction was originally expressed by Champney when he first published the scales (2) and has been basic in the home visit program of the Institute. Equally important has been the training of the rater in the process of rating and in the concepts of parent behavior. This training must be objectively checked periodically to insure the constancy of the rating program.

CHAPTER II

THE INTERPRETATION OF PARENT BEHAVIOR RATINGS

s a process, parent behavior has been A described in myriad terms according to the special goals of the person appraising the home situation. A compilation of these terms reveals many conceptual identities underlying minor language differentiations. It was from such a list that the author of the Fels Parent Behavior Scales selected a group of thirty variables which were felt to cover the significant aspects of the home and of the parent's behavior, at the same time presenting a feasible rating job. This process of selection is described by Champney in "Variables of Parent Behavior" (4) and will not be reviewed here.

The fundamental task of this chapter is to show how the entire battery of scales presents a well-rounded description of home situations. It will include as much discussion of each scale as is necessary to attain this goal. A detailed commentary on each scale, including instructions for the rater, is presented in Part II with the scales themselves.

In order to see how a battery of ratings can present a single unified evaluation of the home, it is important to know the general framework, the constellation formed by the individual variables. One major dimension of this constellation, which has repeatedly emerged in statistical and clinical analysis, is the warmth of the parent-child relationship. A warm home is one in which the parent genuinely likes and enjoys the child, finds contact with him rewarding and pleasant, is appreciative and approving of the child's personality-in short, is "acceptant" in the conventional sense of the term. The position of a home on

the warmth continuum varying from excessive devotion through casual enjoyment and cool detachment to vigorous hostility, sets the emotional climate. Warmth is the central characteristic coloring all other aspects of the parent's behavior

A second dimension of parent behavior is the intellectual objectivity of his attitudes toward the child. The objective parent is rational rather than emotional in his behavior. Regardless of his acceptance or hostility, his overt behavior is largely governed by what he has consciously decided is an appropriate policy. The emotional parents, in contrast, is unable to divorce his behavior from his immediate mood and consequently directly expresses in his behavior his emotional attitude, be it friendly or antagonistic.

A third dimension of parent behavior is related to the measures of control that the parent employs. The parent who is high on this continuum is restrictive and coercive, allowing the child little freedom of choice or range of activity. At the other extreme is the parent who is lax, ineffectual, unable to control the child. Between these two extremes, tending slightly toward the lax end of the continuum, is the parent who by design allows the child a great deal of freedom but who is capable of asserting authority in those areas where it is desired.

The reduction of thirty variables to a small number of dimensions is a very useful accomplishment for purposes of quantitative statistical research. If the influence of parent behavior on child development, for example, were to be investigated quantitatively, an efficient

method of procedure would be the numerical description of each home in terms of the three fundamental factors in parent behavior. The gross relationships between behavior and child development might then be ascertained from the correlation of these fundamental factor scores with corresponding general measures of child development. In terms of the labor involved more information would be obtained by such an analysis of basic dimensions than from a study of the relationship of each of the thirty parent behavior variables to child development. In other words, if every home had to be described in terms of only three variables, these three dimensions would be very efficient ones to choose.

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The use of the parent behavior scales for a diagnosis of the individual home presents a quite different situation. Statistical efficiency is no longer particularly valuable. In fact, it is probably easier for the clinician to look at a pattern of five or six variables than to calculate the numerical score of a home on some such factor as intellectual objectivity. The clinician can take into account a large group of variables and evaluate various patternings among them much more easily than he could achieve the same richness of interpretation in quantitative terms. Further, a set of three or four scores would sacrifice a great deal of information which is conveyed by the entire battery of thirty measurements. Some variables, e.g., those relating to warmth and intellectuality, are almost completely described by the three or four factors. Others, however, particularly those delineating the nature of the parental control, are sufficiently independent of each other that they can each contribute importantly to the interpretation of the individual profile.

For these reasons, therefore, we shall utilize for the clinical analysis of behavior scales a statistical tool which facilitates the interpretation of the individual profile. Such a tool is cluster analysis, closely related to syndrome analysis as devised by Sanford et al. (5) and previously used in the analysis of parent behavior (1).

A cluster is a group of variables which are very closely related, that is, which define and measure some common aspect of parent behavior. Since the variables which make up a cluster are closely related, the scores of a home on the variables belonging to the cluster are likely to be consistent with each other. It is an unusual home which rates high on one variable but low on the others. For the purposes of analysis, we have defined a home as high on a cluster if it rates above average on each variable, low if it is below the group average in each case. Otherwise, the home is classified as mixed. Mixed homes include those which are close to the average on every variable but happen to be slightly above the mean on some and slightly below on the rest. Mixed homes also include those which are truly inconsistent, showing one of the unusual patterns which does not fit the generally high correlation in the cluster as a whole. In such homes the cluster is not applicable.

The use of clusters for the clinical interpretation of home ratings is satisfactory because it allows this flexibility of interpretation and at the same time guides the interpretative process so that it may proceed in an orderly fashion and achieve a meaningful picture of the home.

The first step is to block out roughly the clusters of variables most important for the analysis, and to describe their contents.

WARMTH

Five of the variables are all closely related to warmth. Taken separately, they deal with different aspects of the parent's affectional relationship to the child.

7.2 Acceptance: Acceptance is defined primarily as the degree to which the parent's emotional life includes or excludes the child. A rating on this variable describes the parent's overt behavior to the child on a continuum ranging from complete emotional inseparability to the other extreme of resentment, hostility and rejection. Since it is behavior rather than motivation that is being rated, the parent who compensates for conscious or unconscious rejection of the child with overemphatic devotion is not, on this scale, differentiated from the one whose acceptance is genuine. In the lower half of the scale are found two types of parents; those who are overtly hostile and rejectant toward the child and those who, for a variety of reasons, may avoid and exclude the child to a degree which impinges on him as dislike and rejection. In the upper half of the scale, the extremely high ratings represent the parent whose individuality is submerged in his exaggerated love for the child so that he exists only in the role of parent. The parents rated as acceptant but below this extreme are those who like and enjoy their children as personalities who maintain an identity of their own as adults with complex lives and

5.2 Direction of Criticism (Approval— Disapproval): The two extremes of this scale mark the parent as so lacking in realism that, according to his own emotional bias, he sees the child's behavior as all bad or all good and conveys this attitude to the child. In the lower part of the scale are found parents who take conformity or even achievement completely for granted and whose comments to the child, therefore, consist only of adverse criticism with the intention of eliminating unwanted behavior. The upper part of the scale includes those parents who see the child's behavior as primarily praiseworthy and are willing to make this approval apparent to him. Also, these parents, in correcting the child, usually succeed in making it clear that it is an isolated bit of behavior which is disapproved rather than his entire personality.

8.3 Affectionateness: Affectionateness is primarily concerned with the expression of love or antagonism. Here again it is important to remember that it is the parent's overt behavior which is being rated; thus, the home which is warm and expressive will be given a higher rating than one in which the parent is equally devoted to the child but inhibited in his demonstrations. The middle range is used for those parents who are inhibited and matter-of-fact in their dealings with the child.

8.4 Rapport: Unlike all the other warmth variables, rapport emphasizes the reciprocal relationship between parent and child. It measures the ease with which contact is established, communication between parent and child carried on, the comfort and lack of strain in the relationship and the feeling of mutual sympathy and understanding. Because rapport depends upon both parent and child, it is possible for it to be rated low in an otherwise warm or acceptant home where the child's own

hostility or need for privacy prevents close contact with the parent.

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1.91 Child-centeredness: Least central to the unified concept of warmth is the variable, child-centeredness, which introduces the concept of self-sacrifice on the part of the parent. In its extreme form such sacrifice produces the emotionally dedicated mother who is overidentified with the child and lives only in him. The central concept of the scale is the degree to which the home revolves around the child and caters to him, or subordinates him. In a home with several siblings the rating indicates two different characteristics. How much do the parents sacrifice themselves for their children as a group and how much is an individual child favored over the rest. In a large family it is physically impossible for the parents not to sacrifice themselves to some degree for the children as a group, and, on the other hand, it is almost physically impossible for a mother in such a family to be as thoroughly child-centered toward any individual child as may a mother with only a small family.

What, then, is a warm home? At the extreme this dimension portrays a type of parent well-known to child-guidance clinics-the sacrificial mother, preoccupied with her child at the expense of all else and wholly identified with him. In a milder form, warmth is obviously a characteristic of a great many "good" homes which give the child security and emotional comfort. Homes which are low on warmth generally involve hostility, resentment and rejection of the child, and at times, open neglect. As was pointed out in a previous publication (1), the homes which are cold show a remarkably similar patterning on the entire battery, not just on the scales which define warmth. Among the homes which are warm, however, there is a diversity of ratings which reflect the varieties of positive ways in which parents may raise children.

A variable closely related, although not conceptually intrinsic to warmth, is 2.12 Intensity of Contact. The range of behavior described extends from vigorous, overstimulating attentiveness to an oblivious, preoccupied sort of indifference. It is obvious that the "warm" parent would, in most cases, be rated in the upper half of this scale. She is likely to be responsive and alert to the child's overtures, and active herself in initiating social intercourse. The "cold" parent, however, may sometimes be equally active-though the content of her attentions to the child will, in all likelihood, be of threatening, scolding, critical nature. In the lower half of the scale are found those parents who, either through inhibition, hostility or indifference are perfunctory and passive in their contacts with the child.

ADJUSTMENT

Most clinicians and home visitors feel that warmth is an important aspect of home adjustment. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that those variables which are essentially measures of adjustment are more closely related to warmth than to any other dimension of parent behavior. One variable in the battery is a direct measure of over-all adjustment of the home; three others pertain to supplementary aspects of home adjustment. These are: 1.1 Adjustment; 1.5 Discord; 3.17 Effectiveness; and 3.18 Disciplinary Friction. A high rating on adjustment means not only that the mother herself is a happy, effective person but that the home atmosphere is one of contentment, that the individuals in it find their family life a rewarding one. Discord and disciplinary friction are symptomatic of disorder and conflicting demands from the various family members with their individual goals. Effectiveness is a measure of the degree to which the parental policy is producing the kind of child wanted by the parents.

Because the five warmth variables are all highly correlated with the warmth factor and have practically no correlation with any other aspect of parent behavior, they form a very convenient definition of warmth, and it is by the examination of the ratings on those five variables that any individual home may be classified as warm, casual, detached or cold. The second dimension, intellectual objectivity, cannot be so neatly defined in terms of a small cluster of variables which are related to it and to no other factor. In clinical diagnosis, therefore, it is necessary to contrast ratings on a group of "Indulgence" variables with another group of variables related to "Democracy and Intellectuality" in order to arrive at an estimate of the intellectual objectivity of the home. Three variables have been labeled indulgence: 4.1 Babying; 4.2 Protectiveness; and 7.1 Solicitousness. High ratings on these variables may indicate in general either of two processes in the home: (a) the mother is warmly doting and protective of the child; or (b) she is anxious and restrictive lest the child endanger himself or discommode her. The three indulgence variables are about equally related to warmth, emotionality, and strict control. In other words, there is a definite tendency for those parents who are rated high on indulgence to be warm, emotional, and unable or unwilling to give the child either emotional or physical freedom.

4.1 General Babying: Mothers rated high on this scale treat the child as if he were younger than he is. They may actually underestimate the child's level of ability—or, they may find it more convenient to control his behavior by keeping him in a relatively helpless state. The lower half describes those parents who, through neglect, or intention to foster independence and initiative in the child, let him tackle jobs too big for him. They may withdraw to the point of refusing to help the child when he requests it, letting him bear the complete responsibility for his success or failure.

4.2 Protectiveness: This represents another dimension of a concept allied to babying. The parent rated at the upper end of this scale attempts to preserve the child in a state of cocoon-like obliviousness to everyday life; all conceivable hazards and risks are kept from his path. He may be encouraged to employ in a mature fashion his own abilities but is shielded from exposure to such external situations as germs, unworthy playmates, street traffic. Thus, a child can be overprotected and yet not babied, but the two usually appear together. The parents rated at the upper end of the scale are frequently subject to almost phobic fears, whereas those in the middle of the scale are realistic about the dangers confronting the child. They do their best to keep him healthy, safe from physical danger and emotional trauma, but do not govern his life in terms of threats from the environment. The parents rated at the extreme lower end of the scale are nonchalant about dangers to the child. They may be merely neglectful or their behavior may be governed by an abstract theory that what is best for the child is exposure to reality, including its dangers.

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Both of these variables are rated in terms of the mother's behavior, and the emotional element in her attitude is discounted. The third variable, 7.1 Solicitousness, however, provides insight into the anxiety or nonchalance with which the child is handled. Ratings in the upper half of the scale represent the anxious or panicky parent who always expects disaster and whose apprehensions are expressed directly to the child. In the middle range is the parent whose solicitude represents interest and concern for the child's well-being, rather than fearfulness, and who shows objectivity and perspective in evaluating hazards. Parents rated low on this scale are so nonchalant as to be irresponsible; this may stem from an intellectual laissez-faire and a conviction that nothing will happen anyway, or it may represent an expression of very deep rejection.

The home rated high on the indulgent variables is usually warm but the parents lack objectivity in their relation to the child. In contrast, there is a kind of home which is equally warm but in which the emotional atmosphere is much more objective and detached. Such a home is usually rated high on variables relating to democracy and on those variables which describe a highly intellectual verbal contact between parent and child, namely, 3.14 Justification of Policy; 3.15 Democracy of Policy; 3.3 Acceleration; 6.1 Readiness of Explanation; and 8.1 Understanding. In order to be rated high on these variables a parent of necessity must be willing to forego the easier, less time-consuming ways of dealing with the child because of a conviction that the democratic, intellectual methods are more desirable. Usually this is motivated by warmth toward the child. The five variables just listed might well be broken into two sub-groups, one eliminating disciplinary policy and the other relating directly to the intellectual aspects of the parent-child relationship.

3.15 Democracy of Policy is an attempt to quantify the amount of child participation in the determination of family policies, without evaluative material on how successful it is or exactly how it comes about. Parents rated at the upper extreme of the scale are usually those with an intellectual commitment to a democratic philosophy of child care, an ideology they carry out almost without regard for the individual needs of the child. Those rating in the upper half, but short of this extreme, are parents who use their democratic policy as a technique, not as an end in itself. Parents rating about the middle of the scale are usually those who have no definite philosophy of control and vary according to what seems practical at the moment. Parents rating in the lower half of the scale are authoritarian, varying in the degree that they exert this authority though never admitting the child's right to self-determination and varying somewhat in the areas which are left to the child's own responsibility.

3.14 Justification of Policy is different from the concept just discussed in that it refers to the way in which requirements or penalties are conveyed to the child. It measures the parent's tendency to explain the reasons for requirements and his attempt to put discipline on a logical basis, the readiness with which a rationale is presented to the child.

These two variables present a picture of the direction of the parent's attempts

in his control policies. The three variables in the intellectual cluster, 9.9 Acceleration, 6.1 Readiness of Explanation, 8.1 Understanding, give another aspect of home atmosphere. The parent who rates high on these variable inclines to be intellectual, verbalistic in dealing with the child, rather objective, and, on the whole, insightful as to the meaning of the child's behavior. Democratic homes tend to be acceleratory in two senses; first, that they give the child responsibility for his own actions, expecting "mature" behavior from him at all times, and second in that they frequently put a high premium on intellectual attainment and thus make special efforts to help the child acquire language skills and later foster high standards of academic and creative work. It is practically in subservience to this goal that they rate high on 6.1 Readiness of Explanation; they are eager to expand the child's store of information, to give him techniques for acquiring further knowledge himself (e.g., habits of dictionary and encyclopedia use). A very different kind of mother may also rate high on acceleration and readiness of explanation. A mother whose values are primarily social may accelerate her child to be well-mannered, polite, acquire social skills, etc. To this parent also school success may be a highly desired goal for the child and he will be under pressure to excel. She may have a very warm relationship with the child and "satisfaction of curiosity" may have the nature of prolonging contact with him or represent a rewarding and companionable exchange of ideas and opinions.

The third variable, 8.1 Understanding, is frequently enlightening in the interpretation of the meaning of the ratings on the other two. The concept

includes an ability to meet the child on his own level, to show insight and empathy in regard to his needs, capacities and limitations. Thus, it represents not only an intellectual process but an emotional one as well. The keenness with which a mother appraises her child is an indication of her objectivity about him, her ability to be detached—however great her acceptance or warmth.

These variables, the Indulgent ones and the Democratic-Intellectual ones. do not pertain exclusively to the warmth and objectivity dimensions of parent behavior. They, particularly democracy and justification of policy, have important implications for the nature of parental control. In terms of the control dimension parents who are highly intellectual and democratic are usually below the average in strictness of control, although they do not generally appear at the bottom extreme. Highly indulgent homes are, curiously enough, generally strict in their control of the child. None of these groups of variables, however, is closely enough related to control to permit accurate predictions nor to serve as defining variables. Several other groups of variables describe more specifically the amount and nature of parental control.

RESTRICTIVENESS

The degree to which parental policy restricts the child's freedom is described by two variables, 3.11 Restrictiveness of Regulations and 3.22 Coerciveness of Suggestions. The first variable tells whether the familial requirements are numerous and repressive or few and mild, regardless of whether these standards are well-codified or merely implicit. The second describes the behavior of the parent in immediate situations not

covered by formally determined policy; it is concerned with his attempts to control the child by direct commands or by making optional suggestions. Together, these two variables indicate the area of free movement enjoyed by the child.

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CLARITY

3.16 Clarity of Policy measures the degree to which standards for the child's behavior are formulated and adhered to. Parents rating at the upper extreme of this scale are often inflexible, allowing no special circumstances to affect an established policy, even though a flexible policy can be made clear to the child by a proper definition of the situations in which the rules can be set aside. The lower end of the scale describes fairly chaotic home circumstances in which the parental policy is so vague and fluctuating as to give the child no clue to the expected behavior. 9.12 Readiness of Enforcement describes the vigilance with which the parent superintends the child's conduct; whether he never "lets the child get away with anything" or whether he is lax in enforcing standards, reluctant to follow up and see that the child obeys.

INTERFERENCE

3.12 Quantity of Suggestion measures the parent's readiness to insert a comment or suggestion; high ratings indicate a high interaction between parent and child, initiated by the parent and often in the nature of a direct intrusion into the child's own activity. For example, some mothers keep up a running fire of ideas and suggestions, "Why don't you play outdoors?" "Why don't you build something with blocks?" 5.1 Readiness of Criticism is similar in character

to the previous scale, but differs significantly in that the parental comments take on an evaluative tone; the comments are still initiated by the parent and may be an unwanted interference in the child's life, e.g., the mother who reproaches a four-year-old for not staying within the lines as he crayons a picture or the mother who remarks in passing, "That is a very good bridge; let's save it and show daddy."

3.13 Severity of Punishment is still another of the variables describing the disciplinary policy, although it does not belong to any cluster. It measures the extent of the parent's effort to enforce regulations with punitive measures. A high rating may indicate objectively rigorous punishment or, since it is the impact on the child which is being rated, it may indicate the exaggerated effect on the child of apparently mild penalties.

All of these variables are related in one way or another to the strictness of parental control. They do not, however, form nearly as unified a cluster as do the five warmth variables. That is, there is much greater likelihood that a home will be high on some control scales and low on others than that the pattern of ratings on warmth will be irregular. In fact, by some raters these control variables are separated into two independent factors, the one composed centrally of quantity of suggestion and readiness of criticism, which is closely related to indulgence and has an emotional flavor, the other centered about restrictiveness and severity, with a more dictatorial quality. In any event, the pattern of ratings on the control variables is as important for describing the characteristics of parental control as it is for quantitatively evaluating a single dimension, strictness.

Twenty-five of the thirty scales have been discussed. The remainder form a miscellaneous group which are unrelated to each other and to any of the three dimensions of parent behavior. This lack of relationship does not necessarily imply a defect in the scales. As will be shown later, some of these variables can be rated very reliably and can throw significant light on the pattern of parent behavior in any individual home. Because they are isolated samples of a number of subordinate aspects of parent behavior their general significance is, at times, rather difficult to ascertain: a scale in isolation offers few clues to the characteristics of the general dimension which it is describing.

1.2 Activeness describes the pace of the home, whether it is sedentary or brisk; this refers to not only the physical tempo, the way of moving and talking, but also to the psychological alertness or lethargy of the family members.

1.7 Coordination measures the efficiency with which the household as an institution functions. The methods of meeting day-to-day crises as well as the planning for future needs all represent factors in the orderly maintenance of the home. An extremely high rating may represent the kind of meticulous house-keeping that reduces life to a series of scheduled events and subordinates the child to the scheme of household decoration. The lower half represents the rather chaotic conditions produced by poor housekeeping, lack of planning and elimination of all schedule.

1.6a Sociability, measuring the quality of the family's relations outside the home, is a variable which offers clinical insight into the nature of the family's social activity and desires.

which is most enlightening when considered longitudinally for a study of a single child or when children are to be compared, according to the age of the child. Thus, it is natural for a mother to spend a great deal of time with a two-year-old; if she manages to spend as much time with this child when he's eight and attending school, it is an indication that she is devoting herself to him with considerable fervor, setting all other activities aside for the time that he's available.

8.2 Emotionality is, by definition, similar to the second dimension. And so it proves to be in practice. Since, however, it is relatively isolated from any of the other variables, it does not serve as well for the appraisal of objectivity as do the larger clusters of indulgence and intellectuality. Also, this scale purports to measure how much the mother's emotionality pervades the immediate situation rather than how it influences her over-all treatment of the child.

The previous section has given broad definitions of the thirty scales and has shown their general relationships to certain fundamental dimensions of parent behavior. This knowledge of the meaning of individual scales was a necessary preparation. For the person who wishes to interpret a profile of ratings of an individual home, it is necessary to have a clear understanding of the possible relationships among the thirty variables. To convey such an understanding is the task of this final section of the chapter.

From almost any point of view, warmth is one of the most basic characteristics. In different raters, by different methods of analysis, warmth repeatedly

appears as a central theme of the home which gives its own distinctive coloring to all the other parent behavior. Severity in a cold home takes on some of the coldness and thus is interpreted differently than the same rating in an affectionate warm home. In the interpretation of a profile, therefore, probably the first characteristic to appraise is the warmth of the home. Because of the very high intercorrelations of the warmth variables, it is unusual to find a markedly inconsistent pattern on the warmth cluster. The most frequent deviation is in the child-centeredness variable. In homes which are otherwise cold or neutral it is not uncommon to find childcenteredness higher than the rest of the variables. This deviation is not by itself conclusive, but it suggests anxiousness and is, therefore, usually accompanied by other symptoms of anxiety such as a higher rating on 7.1 Solicitousness (see page 76).

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Two other characteristics are very important to appraise immediately after warmth; these are the intellectual-democratic and the indulgent variables. These variables define the intellectual climate of the home, and, together with warmth, set the framework for the interpretation of parental management of the child.

For the present, therefore, let us restrict the discussion to an elaboration of the relationships between warmth, democracy, intellectuality and indulgence. In cold homes, either democracy or indulgence is somewhat unusual, although as we shall show later, ratings on the indulgent cluster are very important in interpreting the pattern of behavior in cold rejectant homes. The reason that democracy and indulgence are not generally found in such homes is that they demand effort, time, and sacri-

fice from the parent. People who rate low on all the warmth variables are those who do not find satisfaction in dealing with their children as individual personalities. Such parents, finding their contacts with the children frustrating and unrewarding, may respond in various ways, but the most common is to ignore the child, avoid him, and neglect him. At the extreme, not found within the Fels study, this pattern would result in actual desertion. Most children are not, of course, neglected so completely. They force themselves upon the parent's attention and do things which cannot be ignored. In such situations the usual rejectant parent becomes dictatorial and peremptory, clamps down on the child and thus expends a minimum of effort. This so-called typical rejectant parent can be identified from a pattern of ratings which is equally low on warmth, democracy, and indulgence and correspondingly high on restrictiveness and severity. This is the core of rejectance.

In some cold parents, however, there are other factors entering into the situation; for example, a sense of duty toward the child, or guilt feelings resulting from the parent's inability to like him. These auxiliary conditions change the pattern of ratings, particularly the relation between indulgence and warmth. One type of parent who can be rather reliably identified is the cold but anxious mother. Her anxiety may stem from various sources but she tends to be higher on babying, protectiveness and solicitousness than on the warmth variables. The pattern is particularly clear when solicitousness exceeds babying and protectiveness. Such parents are frequently rated higher on child-centeredness than any of the other warmth variables. Since child-centeredness involves

the concept of self-sacrifice, a rating higher than the rest of the warmth variables carries with it an implication of a mother who is forcing herself to perform an unpleasant duty. Clinicians have frequently found that such parents are motivated by anxiety, and often by guilt feelings. The clearest indication of anxiety is a combination of several factors-a rating on childcenteredness higher than the rest of the warmth cluster; a rating on solicitousness higher than the rest of the indulgence variables; and the indulgence variables as a whole rated higher than the warmth cluster. Other variables which often, although not invariably, accompany this pattern are vigilance, quantity of suggestion and readiness of criticism. In more colorful terms these parents can be described as naggers who, through their anxiety, hover over the child, continually interfering in his activity. The rigidity of their control is interpreted as a mechanism which simultaneously allows the parent to express his rejection by frustrating the child without incurring the guilt which would stem from open neglect. Only in cases in which coldness is quite open will such parents be rated low on warmth; other parents with similar motivation can be found in the frankly indulgent group.

Another variation among cold parents is the amount of restrictiveness, more or less independent of anxiousness. In this case, the pattern of ratings to be expected is low warmth, relatively higher babying and protectiveness, and relatively high restrictiveness of regulations and coerciveness of suggestion. The striking difference between such parents and the anxious ones is that solicitousness is definitely lower than babying and protectiveness. These last two variables

take on a quality of pure restriction in this context. The parental behavior is babying and protective because the child is kept out of dangerous situations and is not allowed to make the decisions or attempt the activities of which he is capable. For example, he is kept in a playpen most of the time, not allowed to climb on furniture. In the babying area, he is not allowed to dress himself or feed himself. These measures merely reflect the fact that it is easier for the mother to dress the child than to let him attempt it himself in his slow, fumbling fashion. It is easier for the mother to keep the child in a playpen out of danger than to maintain surveillance of his activities. The motivation of such mothers is not their concern for the child's welfare, but their concern for themselves. Other cold parents may be restrictive because of a more overt hostility for the child which expresses itself in unnecessary prohibitions.

All the parents whom we have discussed thus far present an unstimulating intellectual climate for the development of children. All types of intellectual stimulation as indicated by such variables as 6.1 Readiness of Explanation, 3.3 Acceleration, 3.15 Democracy of Policy, etc. are generally low. It is not impossible, however, to find high democracy among cold rejectant parents. When it occurs it is likely to take one of two forms, either an excessively cold and detached democratic policy in which the central theme is democracy in the abstract rather than the child as an individual, or as an anxious attempt to be democratic in spite of feelings of estrangement and hostility toward the child. The first type of cold democratic parent, infrequently represented in the Fels study, displays very high democracy and extremely low indulgence, even lower than warmth. The second kind of democratic parent will be found among the cold anxious parents previously discussed. At that time an accompanying picture of vigilance and nagging was described. That picture of constant interference is the usual one, but occasionally among intellectual parents who feel that they ought to be democratic, cold anxiousness is accompanied by some degree of democracy.

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A number of variations of cold homes have been discussed. Some of these, like restrictiveness, seem to stem directly from the parent's lack of satisfaction in the child, and therefore could hardly exist except in cold homes. Anxiousness and ideological democracy, however, arise from different motivations and may or may not exist in conjunction with coldness. Conversely, the same pattern of variables with much the same meaning can be found in homes at all levels of warmth, though obviously the total impact will vary according to the warmth of the emotional climate. We might now consider the interpretation of these patterns as they appear in warm homes.

A pattern of high babying, protectiveness, solicitousness, high restrictiveness and continual interference, as indicated by quantity of suggestion and readiness of criticism, is found among cold homes and warm ones alike. In the presence of cold rejectance, this pattern was interpreted to be generally indicative of guilt feelings. Among warm homes such an interpretation is sometimes true but more frequently not. There are parents who cover up their fundamental rejection of the child by warm behavior accompanied by anxiousness and restriction. There are also parents whose close identification with the child, amounting to extreme acceptance, leads them to the same pattern of anxious indulgence. These parents are so closely identified with the child that they view him almost as a revised edition of themselves who they are determined shall have the advantages and the virtues which they feel are lacking in their own lives. This identification leads to close supervision and rigid moulding of the child along the lines of the parent's own standards. His faults are taken so personally and produce such anxiety that the parent applies himself with vigor to their eradication, very often with little appreciation of the child's limitations, and is equally vigorous in accelerating the child's development in those areas which he deems important.

The warmth which these restrictiveindulgent parents feel is conditional. As long as the child retains his position as a satisfactory alter ego, he is loved devotedly. But if he loses that status the entire structure of warmth may collapse. Such a loss may result from the child's own rebellion or the child's functions may be assumed by a younger sibling whom the parent finds better endowed. In either case the parent behavior may suddenly shift from warm indulgence toward cold rejectance, usually without any modification in the pattern of anxiousness.

The pattern of detached democracy is another which can be found in either cold or warm homes. Important characteristics are high ratings on democracy of policy and justification of policy, and low ratings on babying and protectiveness. On the whole, solicitousness and restrictiveness of regulations tend to be low, but these variables are not so crucial to the pattern. Parents of this type usually are quite conscious of their

democratic principles and make an effort to conform to their ideology. That is, they attempt to have the child participate in policy formation, give him freedom to explore, and attempt to maintain a clear, rational policy. Such principles, if carried out, necessarily produce a home which is rated high on 3.14 Democracy of Policy, 3.15 Justification of Policy, and 3.3 Acceleration. Giving the child freedom to explore and test reality for himself demands a certain nonchalance about dangers; only when the child's physical safety is involved do these parents interfere.

Parents who show this pattern of behavior almost certainly have been exposed to an express formulation of the ideals of progressive education. Very few parents arrive at this particular pattern of democratic parenthood spontaneously and naturally. Among the parents who are indoctrinated, so to speak, with these principles, some adopt them and some do not. Usually the willingness to put them into practice implies warmth and acceptance toward the child, for it is no easy task to behave consistently as a democratic parent. At the same time, the parent's ability to be as detached as this ideology demands precludes an extreme emotional identification and implies a certain restraint of emotionality. Usually, therefore, this pattern of high democracy, low indulgence, is found among parents who are warm but not at the very extreme of that dimension. There are, however, other motivational bases upon which such a pattern of parent behavior can exist. Some parents are democratic because their intellectual integrity demands it, not because their love for the child motivates it. Other democratic parents are motivated by their need to conform to the prevalent

pattern of their sub-culture; in some groups a parent may feel that to spank a child or to give him a direct command carries with it the same stigma that "spoiling" did a generation ago.

Occasionally a variant of this pattern occurs, in which the home is rated high on anxiousness even though it is low on babying and protectiveness. Such a pattern, when it accompanies the rest of the high democratic picture, usually indicates a home in which the parent finds it upsetting to allow the child the freedom and exposure to risk that the policy demands.

This discussion has been concerned with the explicit democratic home in which the ideology was consciously adopted and consistently carried though. Another kind of home is also democratic, but its character is colored more by the warmth of feeling. In a sense it is a truer expression of the mother's personality because she behaves more the way she is inclined to, regardless of dogma. Warmth is of much greater effect in this more spontaneous democracy, whether it is casual or warmly indulgent. Democracy in this group means less intellectuality and more softness, more permissiveness. Such a policy can hardly occur in cold homes; it is a natural expression of warmth. In warm homes it results in a pattern of high warmth, high indulgence, and low restrictiveness, to which high democracy is more or less an accompaniment rather than a central dynamic. In some of these cases democracy is more or less an accompaniment rather than a central dynamic. In some of these cases democracy is the professed goal of the family but the mother is unable, because of more fundamental motives, to maintain the detachment of the high democracy, low indulgence

group. In other cases the democracy results from the attempt to attain a policy which is nonfrustrating to the child.

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In the final analysis, the interpretation of a profile of parent behavior ratings is exactly the same process as the diagnosis of any other clinical situation. Each rating is a symptom of what is going on in the home which must contribute to an integrated picture by the clinician. It is possible, nevertheless, to describe some commonly occurring patterns whose meaning has been established through analysis of the scales. These patterns cannot be followed blindly, of course, any more than any syndrome of clinical facts, but when

used intelligently they do facilitate the interpretation of the complete profile. A summary of the groups follows:

- Low ratings on Warmth, Democracy and Indulgence-indicative of a cold, rejectant ignoring home.
- 2. Low ratings on Warmth and high on Babying, Protectiveness and Restrictiveness—indicative of more active, repressing rejectance.
- A higher rating on Solicitousness than on Babying and Protectiveness-indicative of anxiousness.
- 4. Low or moderate ratings on Warmth and high ratings on Indulgence-indicative of anxiousness as over-compensation for basic rejection.
- High ratings on Warmth, Indulgence and Restrictiveness-indicative of a domineering, overcontrolling indulgence.
- High ratings on Democracy and low on Indulgence-indicative of intellectuality and a concept-centered democracy.
- High ratings on Warmth, Indulgence, and Democracy—indicative of a soft, spontaneous democracy.
- 8. Mixed ratings on Warmth, high ratings on Democracy, and mixed or high ratings on Indulgence—indicative of a less intense, more casual democracy than in 7.
- 9. Mixed ratings on Warmth, toward the high side, low ratings on Democracy, high ratings on Restrictiveness—indicative of a casual, friendly, traditional home, which is, however, autocratic.
- 10. Mixed ratings on Warmth, toward the low side—indicative of much the same patterning as found in cold homes, but in a milder form.

CHAPTER III

THE RELIABILITY OF THE RATINGS

THE CONCEPTS OF RELIABILITY

R with the accuracy of the measuring instrument. When the concept is applied to rating scales, there are so many different ways that the term can be used that it is necessary to re-define its meaning. A number of different sorts of checks upon the repeatability of the ratings are important to consider.

There are three important sources of error in the use of these rating scales. First is the variability of the parent behavior. What is observed in a two-hour visit is only a sample of the parent's daily interaction with the child. It is likely that a visit on a different day would have resulted in slightly different ratings. The evaluation of evidence attains greater precision, however, as the rater becomes intimate with the family, and thus he may recognize minor symptoms of discord, for example, which would have been missed completely on the initial visit. A second source of error is the rater's inaccuracy in applying the definitions and cue points to the evaluation of a home. Such inaccuracies are likely to produce variation in successive ratings. It would be possible experimentally to separate each of these two sources of error, but it is not necessary to do so in order to evaluate the scales. And since it is the task of the Institute to appraise homes rather than to test rating methods, it has not been feasible to make this separation. The differences between the same visitor's ratings of the same home on two successive visits are the result of these first two sources of error. The third source of error in ratings, better described as a source of differences among raters, is a variation in conceptual framework which different raters apply to their observations. Unless they agree precisely upon their definitions of each scale and upon the kind of evidence which they utilize to make ratings, they will not assign the same ratings to the behavior they have observed.

Consideration of these sources of error suggests various tests of reliability which should be applied to the ratings: comparisons of successive ratings by the same rater; comparisons of the ratings by different raters following a joint visit in which they both observed the same parent behavior; and comparisons of the pattern of intercorrelations of the thirty variables produced by different raters.

INTRA-RATER RELIABILITY

Here will be considered the agreement between an original rating and a rerating of the same home by the same rater.

This agreement may be measured in various ways, but first we can determine whether the raw ratings, the actual location of the check mark on the rating scale, remain constant from one rating to a successive one. Such agreement implies that the rater's standards did not change and that his opinion of each home remained the same. If it is found that the raw scores did not remain constant from one visit to the next, it is important to determine the correlation between the ratings of one visit and the next. Such a correlation may be high even though raw scores shift because it measures only the degree to which the

ratings of homes relative to the entire distribution remained the same. If a home were at the top on two successive rounds, or at the bottom, or average, a high correlation would be achieved even if the raw score changed.

Tables I and II each indicate the constancy to be expected from a single rater on successive visits. The two tables present comparable information on two different raters. In each table the first set of six columns presents a comparison of the first and second ratings by the rater,

the last group presents information on two successive visits occurring after the rater had several years' experience with the scales. In each comparison the following information is available: The mean rating for each variable on the first visit, and the mean for the next round of visits; the standard deviations of each round of ratings; and the correlation between the two rounds of ratings.

Examinations of Tables I and II leads to the conclusion that the means and standard deviations are so constant that

TABLE I Intra-Rater Reliability

		MFH	1		MFH_2			MFH_{i}			MFH_5	
Variable	N	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	r	N	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	r
1.91	97	57.3	13.6	58.9	14.3	.85	112	67.0	.13.7	64.9	13.2	.73
5.2	97	52.0	9.7	50.9	12.2	.74	III	50.2	16.0	49.2	14.5	.81
7.2	97	74.0	11.6	76.4	15.6	.68	112	77.0	16.2	73.7	17.7	.83
8.3	97	65.0	10.2	64.1	12.8	.60	112	64.2	14.0	63.3	14.4	.87
8.4	96	78.2	13.2	75.3	14.5	.67	112	71.3	17.3	70.5	17.5	.80
2.12	97	70.0	10.1	72.7	10.1	.62	112	72.1	12.9	71.6	12.6	.71
4.I	97	55.2	12.1	55.6	13.7	.53	112	55.2	13.9	55.8	14.7	.75
4.2	97	57.7	15.5	56.5	17.0	.67	112	58.1	17.8	57.4	17.4	. 80
7.1	97	62.7	14.9	62.5	16.0	.67	112	63.8	17.8	63.5	17.4	.71
3.3	96	48.9	18.8	53.8	19.2	.76	112	60.I	19.4	61.7	20.0	.81
6.1	78	60.8	18.8	60.4	21.4	.79	94	59.7	24.2	57.4	22.7	. 80
8.1	97	69.0	16.3	64.1	17.0	.75	112	58.3	19.5	57 - 5	18.7	.81
3.14	88	60.9	17.5	57.8	20. I	.78	106	57.3	23.2	54.3	21.8	. 8
3.15	82	56.7	18.2	53.9	21.8	-77	100	54.8	21.5	54.4	21.1	.8
3.11	97	54.8	15.5	57.7	16.4	.62	112	57.2	16.6	59.4	16.2	. 73
3.22	96	56.1	17.5	58.6	21.1	-74	111	57.4	19.4	60.1	17.5	. 7
3.21	97	51.0	15.5	50.2	14.6	.74	112	52.1	14.0	53.3	15.3	.6
5.1	97	64.7	14.7	66.3	16.7	.72	III	64.3	15.9	67.1	13.9	. 6
3.16	97	66.3	15.6	61.9	16.5	.64	III	56.8	17.3	57.1	16.6	.7
3.12	96	54.7	12.2	53.8	12.1	. 58	111	56.4	12.9	57.4	13.6	.6
3.13	95	49.6	12.8	52.3	14.5	.54	111	53.2	12.5	56.9	14.4	. 6
1.1	97	76.0	12.9	74.5	11.1	.64	112	62.4	16.2	60.7	16.9	. 8.
1.5	97	43.3	15.0	44.8	14.3	.69	112	51.6	15.4	53 - 7	15.2	. 8.
3.17	97	78.1	12.1	77.9	12.0	. 59	112	71.7	15.1	70.7	16.2	.7
3.18	97	44.0	16.2	47 - 7	16.5	.72	112	50.9	16.9	55.6	17.9	.6
1.2	97	62.4	12.3	65.8	13.8	.75	112	67.6	15.0	66.8	14.5	. 7
1.6a	97	65.3	15.9	64.3	19.2	.82	II2	60.3	23.I	63.4	20.9	. 9
1.7	97	69.2	14.8	67.0	17.3	.79	112	65.8	19.4	67.9	18.0	. 8.
2.11	97	79.7	9.6	78.6	9.2	. 66	112	80.3	9.8	77.0	11.6	.7
8.2	97	50.6	15.5	54.1	18.7	.72	112	60.I	19.6	60.4	18.2	- 7

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TABLE II Intra-Rater Reliability

Variable		JK_2			JK_3			JK_{b}			JK_{6}	
variable	N	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	r	N	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	r
1.91	91	56.8	12.8	53.6	13.6	-74	92	51.6	14.5	57.1	13.7	.7
5.2	91	53-3	13.6	52.9	14.5	.48	92	54.8	15.9	57.0	14.3	.6
7.2	91	62.5	16.2	61.2	17.5	.71	92	65.1	17.8	67.8	15.3	. 70
8.3	91	63.9	12.5	60.I	15.9	- 54	92	62.0	16.3	63.1	15.7	. 7
8.4	91	61.2	15.7	62.0	17.7	.67	92	63.9	17.3	62.4	17.3	.7
2.12	91	62.6	15.8	60.4	15.5	.62	92	62.1	17.5	66.3	13.7	.6
4.1	91	53.4	14.3	53 - 4	15.9	.63	92		15.4	55.4	14.8	. 8
4.2	91	57 - 7	15.3	58.4	16.5	.54	92	59.6	15.8	61.9	15.4	.7
7.1	91	53.2	15.5	54.1	16.3	. 58	92	59.1	15.9	59.6	16.3	. 4
3.3	91	56.6	15.2	54.0	15.2	.63	92	56.8	16.2	58.0	13.1	. 8
6.1	87	59.9	14.7	58.1	16.5	.70	91	60.7	16.3	64.0	14.0	
8.1	91	54-3	13.7	51.8	17.5	-73	92	51.4	16.7	54.6	14.9	*
3.14	91		18.1	54.9	18.4	-77	92	57.2	17.0	61.6	16.1	
3.15	90	54.5	15.9	54.7	15.7	- 57	91	54.1	15.9	58.4	14.3	
3.11	91		14.8	56.9	13.6	.66	92	59.6	13.9	56.6	13.4	
3.22	91	56.7	14.8	56.7	16.6	. 49	92	58.0	16.6	52.6	16.5	
3.21	91		14.6	55.3	14.0	.50	92	53.5	14.2	55.6	13.9	
5.1	91	57.6	17.0	60.1	16.9	. 59	92	61.4	17.4	61.9	15.3	
3.16	91		15.0	63.2	17.9	.65	92	0 0	14.7	65.2	14.2	
3.12	90	58.6	14.3	57.0	15.5	. 56	92	57.3	15.0	55.0	14.7	
3.13	91	53.2	12.9	51.3	13.3	-57	92	53.2	14.5	49.8	12.0	
1.1	91		16.8	60.0	17.6	-52	92		15.9	58.5	13.8	
1.5	91		15.1	52.2	15.7	.67	92		15.0	52.2	13.5	
3.17	91		15.8	63.7	16.5	.64	92		14.4	67.3	13.1	
3.18	91	51.0	15.4	50.0	17.0	.65	92	50.7	15.0	50.9	12.6	
1.2	91		15.0	62.1	15.5	. 59	92		13.3	68.6	13.3	
1.6a	91		17.4	60.1	17.3	.79	92		18.1	65.0	15.3	
1.7	91		15.7	65.9	15.3	.72	92	0 0	16.3	64.9	15.5	4
2.11	91		10.4	69.6	8.0	.48	92		7.8	74.9	7.3	,
8.2	/91	56.1	17.9	58.3	17.7	.75	92	59.3	16.2	57.2	13.1	

either raw or standard scores may be adequate measures of the homes. However, the standard scores are definitely preferable. The rater's standards do not change markedly within a six-month period, but a comparison of the means of an early round with a much later round shows that the rater gradually shifts his initial standards in the course of time.

INTER-RATER RELIABILITY

Practical uses of the scale not only demand that a rater agree with himself but further require that different raters agree with each other in their appraisals of the home situation. It is very important, therefore, to measure the agreement between raters.

Table III presents some information on this point. Two visitors jointly observed the homes of twenty-one children and then rated independently. The striking conclusion is that the correlations between the two raters are excellent, although they do not agree on the raw scores to be assigned to every home. Means and standard deviations are very different in several variables. In many

TABLE III
INTER-RATER RELIABILITY

		19	945						19	946		
		JK			FB			JK			FB	
Variable	N	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	r	N	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	*
1.91	21	58.0	9.7	55.6	7.8	.85	20	54.1	8.4	61.7	11.0	.70
5.2	21	56.0	14.5	51.4	8.0	.60	20	56.8	9.5	59.3	11.6	. 88
7.2	21	66.0	18.8	60.1	9.9	.56	20	67.0	13.1	72.0	10.9	. 5
8.3	21	64.7	14.4	59.5	10.7	.77	20	65.0	11.0	66.4	8.5	. 7
8.4	21	64.6	17.2	58.4	12.6	.74	20	63.2	16.0	64.4	13.9	. 6.
2.12	21	68.8	10.7	65.6	11.5	-74	20	63.4	12.9	66.2	13.2	.8
4.1	21	51.3	10.7	50.6	10.6	.79	20	56.1	12.1	56.7	10.4	.6
4.2	21	57.5	14.2	53.0	10.7	.53	20	60.4	11.5	54.6	10.9	. 2
7.1	21	64.6	16.8	52.2	13.4	.72	20	57.8	14.8	58.0	15.4	.7
3.3	21	58.6	10.2	63.1	8.8	.42	20	56.2	12.0	63.4	15.2	. 8
6.1	10		13.8	63.8	16.3	. 84	20	65.2	14.3	61.0	12.0	. 8
8.1	21	58.7	14.5	61.3	15.6	.87	20	51.6	17.1	61.0	14.9	.8
3.14	21	56.8	14.5	60.6	14.4	.84	20	60.4	15.8	60.2	15.3	. 8
3.15	19	59.5	16.5	59.9	17.8	.93	20	59.4	14.3	62.7	13.7	- 7
3.11	21	55.9	13.9	49.5	14.3	.97	20	55.2	11.8	52.1	12.8	- 7
3.22	21	56.0	14.6	50.3	13.1	.91	20	50.8	14.7	52.2	14.5	.7
3.21	21	53.6	10.2	56.7	11.6	. 24	20	52.6	13.4	51.2	15.8	. 8
5.1	21	64.8	10.6	65.0	8.5	.56	20	55.2	15.0	63.6	15.7	.6
3.16	21	64.2	9.3	56.9	11.0	.66	20	61.7	16.5	57.6	15.7	.6
3.12	21	55 - 7	11.7	57.1	13.3	.83	20	53.6	12.4	50.8	13.5	- 4
3.13	21	54 - 7	9.8	54.5	12.2	.91	20	47.6	12.5	48.8	12.7	.3
1.1	21	71.8	8.3	61.0	9.7	-75	20	65.2	12.8	61.2	17.3	.8
1.5	21	51.9	9.4	53.5	10.4	.73	20	45.2	16.5	48.2	16.0	. 8
3.17	21	71.8	8.8	59.8	8.8	.51	20	68. I	12.7	65.6	11.3	.4
3.18	21	48.6	10.5	51.4	10.6	.41	20	49.0	12.8	53.8	12.6	- 5
I.2	21	74.5	5.7	65.3	6.5	.51	20	63.8	14.2	62.8	17.3	. 7
1.6a	21		10.6	62.3	13.4	-73	19	70.8	15.0	65.0	16.9	. 8
1.7	21		6.7	64.3	9.0	.60	20	65.5	16.6	67.6	16.2	.7
2.11	21	13.	4.9	76.6	5.7	.67	20	75.1	7.2	74.5	6.9	. 7
8.2	21	58.1	9.1	54.8	12.5	.50	20	54.2	13.3	51.7	15.7	. 6

variables the inter-rater correlation is actually higher than the correlation obtained on successive ratings by the same individual; this comparison, of course, does not mean that raters agree with each other better than with themselves. The two visits of the same rater are separated by a six-month interval and are based upon different samples of behavior so that objective changes in the home during that period might be expected to lower the correlation.

.67 .79 .70 .71 .61 .80 .73 .48 .82 .85

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Table IV shows the correlations be-

tween two visits separated by one year and rated by different visitors. These correlations are definitely lower than the corresponding values for a single rater, but, nevertheless, are gratifyingly high. These various tests lead to the conclusion that, compared to other rating scales, this battery is unusually reliable. While the reliabilities do not reach the levels attained by well-designed psychometric tests, they approach such values and, in view of the abstract character of the variables, are exceptionally good.

TABLE IV
INTER-RATER RELIABILITY

Variable		HM_1	1		MFH_1			MFH_{b}	9		JK_2			JK	62		FB_2	
anapie	N	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		Z	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		N	/ Mean	u SD	Mean	SD	7
	44		IO.	1	1 0	.35	95	65.				.67	89	52.5				.58
5.2	28				9.5	.43	95	40.I	15.6	53.I		.53	99	54				.72
- 10	28		7.	OI.		.31	95	73.				.50	89	. 69				. 74
8.3	50				9.01	. I.3	95	62		63.5	12.3	.51	89	.00	15.6		4	. 66
	37		7	200	13.0	.34	050	70.				10	89	. 19				.71
2.12	44	64.7	6	68.7	11.3	.17	95	- 20	13.2	62.1		000	68		15.4	58.7	14.9	. 6I
4.1	50	51.6				.31	95	*				.45	89	54		3		. 27
4.2	37		0.01	59.0	14.3	. 65	95		9.9I		15.2	. 49	68	63.0	13.8	52.7	14.7	.40
7.1	90		13.9			.27	95	63.5		52.3	15.8	.36	89	59.	*			.41
3.3	37	45.0	6.6	46.2	18.0	.57	98	60.2				.61	68	53.			13.6	53
6.1	32	64.1		62.0	17.8	.65	78	4	22.3	59.4	10	.63	67		14.0	57.2		17.
8.1	50	67.4	14.7	8.99		.51	95	55.00	00	53.8	15.0	.47	68	46.	16.2	50.6	15.9	.65
3.14	24	61.4	17.6			.68	88	81.8	21.4	53		99.	89	00		58.3		. 78
3.15	24	57.3	14.3	60.5	14.2	.57	83	52.2	20.3	54.4	15.8	.56	19	51.4	15.8	54.5	15.9	.74
3.11	36	50.4	12.8	in		.26	90						89	61.7		52.00		.65
3.22	29	59.7	16.4	54.2	14.7	.42	94	6.09	17.4	26.0	15.3	.21	89	59.3	15.0	50.8	14.3	. 57
3.21	50	54.7		52.2			95	3		81.8			89	53.8				.30
5.1	36	62.1	16.7	63.7	13.6	.72	95	67.5	14.1	57.4	9.91	.51	89	59.5	15.1	26.0	14.8	.36
3.16	200		11.2	6.99	18.0	.56	95	10	*			.43	89			3		.61
3.12	36	58.5	11.3	54.6	12.3	. 20	94	57.0	13.9	57.1	15.2	. 28	68	26.6	14.1	53.7	13.7	.31
3.13	36	46.2	11.7	48.4	11.3	.26	93	56.8	15.1	52.9	12.8	OI.	89	52.2	12.8	52.6	14.6	.40
1.1	44	74.3				.62	95	6.09		62.4		.48	89	58.9	14.2	ci.		.56
1.5	28	25.0	*	0		.56	95					09.	89			3	3	.63
3.17	34	79.1	9.9	75.8	13.0	. 25	95	6.69	17.3	65.3	15.8	.44	89	1.79	14.2	58.7	13.9	.62
3.18	700	39.3		in	*	.34	95	*				.50	89					.61
1.2	50	63.3	4.8	3	*	.62	95		14.0		*	.65	89			55.2	13.6	.64
I.6a	20	68.8	11.4	65.7	17.3	. 59	95	64.0	0	63.2	17.7	.74	89	20.1	16.5	55.2	15.2	.74
1.7	28	79.2			*	.72	95	2		9	0	.74	99			58.0	4	60.
2.11	44		э			60	20	u			. 0	X	200			74.5		00

The appraisal of reliability presented thus far dealt with individual scales. Another aspect of reliability is the agreement between raters on the pattern of intercorrelations of the battery. It was shown in the preceding chapter that intercorrelations of the scales produced clusters of variables defining various dimensions of parent behavior. Taken together in varying combinations, these clusters formed integrated pictures of

58.0 48.8 8.8

14.3 6.6 13.9

56.6

20000

68.6

76.2

0 0 0 0

17.3 .59 16.5 .72 9.8 .62

05.7 70.2 81.7 51.1

4.11.4

79.2 84.0 45.0

0 8 4 9 0

1.0a 1.7 2.11 8.2 diverse types of homes. For these patterns to have genuine validity, however, it must be demonstrated that the clusters recur in the ratings of different visitors. While the high correlations between two raters suggests a similarity in factor pattern, it is necessary to investigate the question directly. Table V presents the intercorrelations which make up each of the clusters for three raters. For the important clusters, the correlations are

TABLE V

Intercorrelations of Variables in Various Clusters*

			Warmth					Indu	algence	
	1.91	5.2	7.2	8.3	8.4	2.12		4.1	4.2	7.1
1.91		.51	.69	.60	.60	.63	4.1		.74	· 53
5.2			.64	.70	.66	. 49	4.2			.64
7.2			In the	·79	.88	.51		Intell	ectuality	
				.70	.00	.74		3 · 3	6.1	8.1
8.3					.86 .81	·53	3.3		.71	.52
8.4						.46			.79	-57
				1		.67	6.1			.75
	Democ	racy		Re	estrictive	ness		Int	erference	
		3.15				3.22			5.1	1
		- 0							0	

lociacy	Restrictiv	eness	interi	erence
3.15		3.22		5.1
.92 .83	3.11	· 33 · 53	3,21	.46
rity		Adju	istment	
3.12		1.5	3.17	3.18
. 28 . 60	1.1	64 66	· 49 · 45	30 36
	1.5		63 47	. 63 . 56
	3.17			- ·75 - ·72
	3.15 .92 .83 rity 3.12	3.15 .92 .83 rity 3.12 .28 .60	3.15 3.22 .92 .83 3.11 .33 .53 ity Adju 3.12 1.5 .28 .60 1.16466	3.15 3.22 .92 .83 3.11 .33 .53 ity Adjustment 3.12 1.5 3.17 .28 .60 1.16466 456666456645

^{*} The intercorrelations of variables in each cluster are shown for two different raters. Each cell in the correlation tables contains two correlations. The top one in each case is that obtained from the analysis of the ratings of JK; the bottom one is from the ratings of FB.

consistently high for each rater.

This comparison of patterns of intercorrelations my be most consistently carried out by means of factor analysis. The purpose of a factor analysis is to discover a small number of variables which can account for all the intercorrelation in the battery. Each of these variables, or factors, is a combination of a number of different variables from the battery; the results of the factor analysis are expressed in terms of the correlations of each of the variables with each of the factors. These correlations are sometimes called the loadings of each variable on a factor. The name assigned to a factor is more or less determined by the variables which have a high correlation with it; thus, if all the warmth variables had high correlations with a factor, it would probably be labelled warmth.

In Chapter II we described the socalled dimensions of parent behavior; those dimensions represent factors obtained by the method of factor analysis. At that time we reported that the factors were the result of the comparison of the factor analyses of different raters. Table VI shows the specific results of the factor analyses of two different raters. These raters are comparable in that they both used all thirty scales and rated the entire Fels group. The similarity between the two may be seen from the similarity of the pattern of correlations of each factor with the thirty variables. It is particularly important that the agreement is greatest among the variables which have high correlations with a factor.

There is agreement on the important variables in each factor, in the sense that variables with the highest loadings on each factor are the same. There is not, of course, perfect agreement on the numerical value of these loadings. The

difference between raters is, therefore, seen to be merely one of degree rather than of kind. The disagreements can be best described in terms of the location of the important clusters with respect to the factors.

MFH tends to rate both indulgence and democracy as more nearly like warmth than does JK. For JK, democracy is more closely related to the objectivity factor than warmth. However, for both raters it is located between the two factors. MFH rates democracy as involving somewhat less control than does JK; both raters agree that it tends toward the uncontrolled end of Factor III. But the precise location is not identical.

In their treatment of indulgence, there is a similar difference. MFH located the indulgent variables closer to warmth and farther away from strict control than did JK, although both raters agreed that the indulgent variables are positively correlated with both of those factors.

MFH rates the restrictiveness and severity variables as quite cold, negative on the warmth factor. JK does not locate that cluster quite so low on warmth.

The greatest difference between the two raters is their handling of parental control, MFH treats all the control variables, severity and restrictiveness, as involving much the same kind of control. JK differentiates parental control into two sorts: one, nagging interference which is closely related to the indulgence variables, the other strict efficient control which leads to one sort of adjusted home. This type of home is neither warm nor cold; it is marked by clarity of policy. accompanied by readiness of enforcement and severity. It is unemotional; withal, it is very effective and welladjusted.

These differences are not so large as

TABLE VI FACTOR LOADINGS FOR DIFFERENT RATERS

	War	mth	Objec	tivity	Pa	rental Cont	rol
Variab le	JK	MFH	JK	MFH	JK	MFH	JK*
1.91	. 79	.75	20	02	.32	.45	.00
5.2	.82	.82	.04	26	.02	24	06
7.2	.87	.89	04	.02	.04	.02	.08
8.3	. 86	.86	. 14	.00	00	10	13
8.4	.82	.87	04	. 16	13	15	.01
2.12	.72	- 59	.04	21	. 29	. 38	. 20
4.1	.47	.62	. 24	.08	-54	.43	20
4.2	.32	.60	.33	16	.57	.35	.0
7.1	. 30	.60	08	10	.68	. 36	0
3.3	. 45	.35	67	80	.00	05	. 2
6.1	.57	.57	60	55	08	32	. 2
8.1	.64	. 54	33	46	33	40	. 2
3.14	.48	.62	61	50	34	40	.0
3.15	.46	. 64	61	38	29	45	.0
3.11	16	44	. 29	.11	.60	. 59	.4
3.22	33	61	.34	.45	-47	.46	. 2
3.21	.05	02	02	08	.62	.42	0
5.1	02	47	33	12	.38	.55	2
3.16	.17	.49	2I	60	. 12	33	.7
3.12	22	.01	04	09	. 21	.64	.5
3.13	17	54	11	31	.13	.15	.6
					1		
1.1	- 54	.44	.03	40	11	21	.5
1.5	61	65	r r	. 20	. 16	. 24	4
3.17	. 45	.70	.04	. I I	04	20	.5
3.18	44	65	25	. 12	.05	, 22	5
I.2	. 20	. 17	46	55	. 30	.17	. 1
1.6a	. 29	.08	46	40	20	11	.0
1.7	. 28	. 29	27	59	. 26	04	- 4
2.11	. 59	.54	10	.09	. 30	- 34	0
8.2	or	35	- 47	00	24	. 50	5

^{*} The analysis of J.K.'s ratings indicated two factors relating to Parental Control.

to make the judgments of the two raters noncomparable. Furthermore, these two raters had no special training designed to eliminate just such a difference in concepts. The extended definitions and rating instructions given in Part II can eliminate such differences of interpretation.

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SUMMARY

It has been demonstrated that the Fels Parent Behavior Rating Scales are so constructed and defined that the ratings on a home when made by trained raters are consistent and that two raters making independent judgments agree in their opinions of each home. Furthermore, two independent raters interpret the scales in much the same fashion, as indicated by their similarity in pattern of correlations.

The conclusion that these scales, in the hands of capable raters, form a reliable

method of home appraisal is strengthened by the fact that these reliabilities were achieved despite two major handicaps. JK succeeded MFH at the Institute and thus their ratings were completely independent; they had no opportunity to resolve differences in interpretation through conference, nor had the method for checking interpretations been developed. In the second place, the Fels group, composed largely of average

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homes, does not present the extremes to be found in the clientele of a child guidance clinic or home-finding organization. Even greater agreement could be expected in the appraisal of extreme homes.

In conclusion, then, the Fels Parent Behavior Scales offer the possibility of reliable, quantitative appraisal of the home environment of children.

CHAPTER IV

THE PARENT BEHAVIOR SCALES AS A CLINICAL TOOL

THE discussion in Chapter II was largely based upon statistical analysis of the scales. By studying the similarities among a group of parents who have some common pattern of ratings, the significance of each cluster was gradually made evident. Such statistical treatment is valuable and provides the necessary groundwork for understanding the full potentialities of the scales. Nevertheless, there is information which cannot be obtained by such methods. So many different patterns of ratings on the thirty variables are possible that a tremendous group of cases would be required for exhaustive statistical analysis. The general patterns can still be delineated but the analysis of minor variations requires the clinical study of individual homes.

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Furthermore, the statistical investigation cannot operate in a vacuum, regardless of its refinement. A clinical inquiry is necessary to show the full significance of some of the patterns of variables. For example, there are some cold homes which are restrictive, coercive and babying, and protective. The meaning of babying and protectiveness in such a pattern is not clear until such homes are viewed clinically. Then it appears that the high ratings on babying stemmed from the parent's restrictiveness and his refusal to allow freedom commensurate with the age of the child. When the babying was seen in the context of the individual parent's behavior, its significance became clear. There are many such examples of patterns whose interpretation is not immediately apparent from the inspection of the component variables. By inspection of the individual case the meaning of such patterns is frequently clarified.

From these considerations it is obvious that a combination of clinical and statistical analysis is the most fruitful method for discovering the meaning of the parent behavior ratings. It is equally obvious that the clinical method must be employed whenever a profile of ratings is incorporated in a case history for an understanding of the development of the child. It would be ridiculous to expend so much effort to make ratings precise and reliable and to make a detailed analysis of their meaning, only to fall short of a full interpretation by ignoring the subtle implications of the profile.

It is the purpose of this chapter, therefore, to show that the scales do make a good clinical tool, that a profile can give a detailed clinical picture, and that each variable makes its own contribution to the total interpretation.

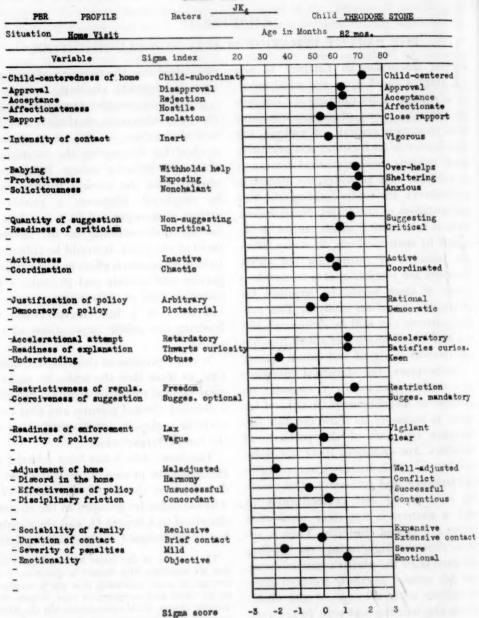
The home which has been selected to exemplify the process of interpretation is described by the profile in Table VII. The variables are grouped in the clusters described in Chapter II, and their order has been designed to facilitate analysis.

The warmth of the home is described in the first six variables. Mrs. Stone* is above the Fels average on each, indicating that she is attached to the child and acceptant of him. Within the warmth cluster, child-centeredness has the highest rating. This suggests anxiousness and possibly identification with the child. Rapport is the lowest of the warmth variables, which may mean the child does not entirely reciprocate the parental affection.

The high ratings on the three indulgence vari-

^{*}A pseudonym has been used throughout the description of this case.

TABLE VII



ables confirm the previous suspicion of parental identification with the child. Ted is babied and anxiously protected from external hazards. In Chapter II, a pattern of overcontrol, especially interference, was mentioned as a likely accompaniment to indulgence. The ratings on quantity

of suggestion and readiness of criticism confirm that statement in this particular case. The high ratings on restrictiveness and coerciveness are a part of the same pattern. Activeness and coordination, which are also above the Fels average, denote a well-run household. In this context of ir

anxiousness and restrictiveness we might presume the home is meticulously run, even rigid in schedule.

Democracy is rated at the mean; one of the two variables in the cluster is just below the average and the other just above. It is a little surprising that they are so high, for ordinarily high ratings on restrictiveness are accompanied by a more autocratic pattern. The most reasonable explanation is that Mrs. Stone makes the gesture of consulting Ted and even accepts his opinion if it coincides closely enough with her own. In any case, she is certainly willing to give him his way in any non-essential areas. Thus, the rating on democracy might reach a level as high as the Fels average.

The picture is now one of restrictive indulgence. The rating of readiness of enforcement contributes a definite flavor to the interpretation. The mother is restrictive, but lax in enforcement and also, we see, mild in her punishments. The home begins to appear verbal and nagging, but without any core of enforced disciplinary policy. When ratings of low adjustment, high discord, low effectiveness of policy, and high disciplinary friction are added, the suspicion arises that Ted does not conform to his mother's standards. She talks and nags, but achieves little. The fact that approval is still high in spite of all this conflict and discord might be interpreted as a determined effort by the mother to see the boy in the best possible

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In this home sociability is rated low. It was suggested in Chapter II that in restrictive indulgent homes a low rating on sociability appeared to indicate a paranoid outlook upon the world. Mrs. Stone is warmly attached to Ted; at the same time, she is rather cold and unresponsive to the rest of the world. Such an intensity of warmth and affection toward the child, when it is not part of a generally warm personality, might indicate an unusually close and emotional attachment to the boy.

A few more ratings round out the picture; a low rating on understanding makes it clear that the mother has little insight into what Ted wants and needs but instead is projecting on him her own motivations. It also suggests the reason for the lack of success indicated by the low rating on effectiveness. The boy is not understood, yet he is bossed around, nagged, but can successfully disobey, encountering as punishment only more verbal nagging.

That this interpretation is essentially correct may be seen from the following clinical description of the home.

As a mother Mrs. Stone has been from her child's earliest infancy a tense, keyed-up, ap-

prehensive person. While never becoming so disturbed or unhappy as to be forced to seek psychotherapy, she has, through the years, made it clear that her life is unsatisfactory to her and that her only reward is in her relationship to her son, now ten years old.

Mr. and Mrs. S., each an only child, were married when they were twenty-five; both are college graduates, Mr. S. having an advanced degree. Mrs. Stone had a professional career before her marriage, did some substitute teaching afterwards which was terminated with pregnancy a year or two later. It was a planned conception.

One of the most salient factors about Mrs. S.'s personality is her inability, even refusal, to form close emotional ties with other people. Significant exceptions to this have been her attachment to her mother and to her son. She has long planned to re-arrange her husband's life and the family situation as a whole by moving back to her birthplace; her explanation of that has been that she will inherit the family's property and that she must be on the site for the proper administration of the estate. However, there is an underlying thread of "back to mother" tone in her scheme. On one occasion she stated quite bluntly that if her husband wouldn't make the move she would simply pick up Ted and go by herself. Marital adjustment has always been tenuous, and Mrs. S.'s contempt for her husband is thinly veiled. Though she is conventional enough to have made surface pretense at some sort of marital attachment, she has been blunt and open about her attitudes toward the world at large. Once she remarked that "I don't like to get close to people-you get too involved with friends." She is quite aware of the degree of her absorption in her child, has said to the home visitor that no one, even her husband, understood her sincere attempt to make Ted a healthy happy child, adding, very emotionally, that she had sacrificed her life for

These various factors in her own personality have inevitably been reflected in Mrs. Stone's behavior with Ted. In infancy it was revealed in tremendous rigidity of schedule, in toilet training begun when the baby was three months old, in constant acceleration and overestimates of the child's ability. Having identified herself completely with her product, it was necessary that the child himself be immaculate, perfect in behavior, precocious intellectually. Then and later she was completely unrealistic about him, generously interpreting every squeal, for example, as a meaningful syllable and translating for the benefit of the visitor. Now that he is school age this trait is revealed in her calm

assumption that any criticism of Ted, from child or adult, is the product of willful and unjustified malice. When incontrovertible evidence is presented of some mischief he may have done, she is quick to find the scapegoat who "led him into it," though she is on such occasions grievously disappointed with the boy for being ame-

nable to such pressures.

Great solicitude for Ted's moral and physical welfare has been evident from the beginning, but the fact that he early showed himself prone to upper-respiratory infections and was later discovered to have a number of allergies crystallized all the mother's existent anxieties. Despite her acceleration of mental activity, she was babying to the point of being retardatory in other areas—continuing, for example, to feed him part of every meal because he voluntarily finished only those foods he liked and she was fearful of what an inadequate diet might mean; this process was carried on, therefore, until he was six or so.

Standards for Ted's behavior are, and always have been, exceptionally high. The mother's goal has been to produce an adult-child, but a very sober and inhibited kind of adult. A left-handed compliment—"sometimes he's just a perfect little gentleman, so quiet and serious"—was given in apology for some typical small-boy silliness he had shown before the visitor. Another time she was worried because he had started using exaggerated or nonsensical language; "Ted used to be so straightforward and simple, and now he's taken this up from Jerry, and I do think it does cheapen a child so."

The discipline area is conflict-provoking for the mother. On the one hand, she cannot tolerate infractions of her high code for Ted's behavior and is ever watchful to see that he conforms. But when misbehavior does occur, she is loathe to punish because of her devotion to the child. Compromises frequently emerge; for example, on one occasion he was sent to bed an hour early as a punishment, but Mrs. S. decided she'd been overly severe and went to the bedroom and read to him for the extra period.

It is evident that the material from the clinical records of this case is in accord with the interpretation given on the profile. This demonstrates beyond a doubt that for this home, at least, the process of rating on prescribed variables did not distort the picture. That is, the ratings and the clinical interpretation are compatible. Since the analysis of the profile was not a blind interpretation. we cannot disprove the possibility that a home with a different motivation might have a sufficiently similar profile to be confusing. Insofar as the interpretation of the ratings was a direct recapitulation of the pertinent facts of Chapter II, it did not depend upon knowledge of this particular home. Whether the refinements of the interpretation, those not based on the statistical research, are logically implied by the pattern of ratings must be left to the judgment of the reader. A controlled experiment on the possibilities of blind analysis of the parent behavior profiles has never been carried out. It would undoubtedly be interesting and worthwhile as a research project, but since the practical use of the scales is not likely to depend upon a blind analysis, the demonstration is not essential. The scales may be treated statistically in group studies; the results of such research have been demonstrated to be fruitful. They may be used in connection with case studies, and in such a context it would not be very sensible to ignore all the clinical information which would make the contributions of the ratings more valuable. For these reasons, we feel that the data of Chapter II, as well as the present chapter, are realistic demonstrations of the value of the Fels scales.

PART II

INTRODUCTION

Tas a manual for the use of the Fels Parent Behavior Rating Scales and will include a discussion of contact with the parents, the accumulation of evidence for rating, the rating itself, the interpretation of the cues and definitions, and finally the administration of a rating program.

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1. THE VISIT

The goal of the visit is to employ the observation of the parent-child relationship for the production of a dynamic interpretation of the environment of the child and specifically for the description of that environment in terms of the thirty parent behavior variables. It seems entirely feasible that the scales might be used in a wide variety of situations which would prescribe the nature of the contact between the visitor and the parent. In the Fels situation no professional counseling is entailed and the home visitor is not in the position of providing benefits or determining changes in the family life; it is the intent to make the visit as natural as possible, an aim which does not force the rater into any prescribed pattern. It is possible for visitors to be formal or informal, a casual friend or a confidante of the parent, to use interview methods, direct observation and informal conversation in any proportion which seems desirable, or even to create informal experimental situations which might produce greater comparability between homes.

Regardless of the visitor's approach, there is a wide variety of parental reactions to this type of contact, ranging from congenial cooperation to a hostile maintenance of inviolacy. And it is the

visitor's task to perceive beneath these social performances the behavior which is typical of the parent in the private family situation. If, for example, a parent refrains from punishing a child for an obvious misdemeanor, the visitor must decide whether this is typical laxity or an inhibition of her customary behavior because of the visitor's presence. If, on the other hand, the misdemeanor is handled severely, the visitor must decide whether the parent is ordinarly harsh or has attempted to deal decisively with this particular bit of behavior in order to impress the visitor. The kind of defense which the parent erects will clearly be a function of the role of the visitor in the home, so that the rater must exercise the same clinical insight which is ordinarily employed to penetrate a client's defenses.

The length of visit required for an adequate rating cannot be unequivocally established at present. In the Fels program the first ratings which are included in the permanent record are those made after a second visit when the rater has seen all the families once, so that four hours of contact with one home is considered an adequate period of establishing rapport and accumulating rating evidence. Thereafter, each rating is based on a two-hour observation. Regardless of the length of observation it seems important to stress the fact that the rater's function is to obtain valid judgments of the home, and in order to achieve such validity, all the evidence which can be summoned is clearly legitimate, whether this evidence appears in the course of a visit or not. What occurs in general practice is that the visitor's knowledge of the case and his previous contacts with the home increase his sensitivity to the underlying dynamics and the accuracy of his interpretation of incidents occurring during the actual visit. It would seem reasonable that this same philosophy could apply in other home visit situations. In fact, the use of external evidence would be illegitimate only in an experimental situation intended to study the rating process or the efficiency of a home sampling technique. Since most practical users of scales will be more interested in obtaining valid judgments about the home than in testing the rating process, the philosophy adopted in the Fels program seems reasonable.

Another commonly occurring situation which tests the ingenuity and the insight of the rater is the absence of some members of the family during the period of observation. In order to describe the home environment of the child, the influence of these unobserved members of the family must be estimated. If, for example, the whole family is not seen, the mother may be interviewed to ascertain indirectly the role the father plays in the child's life, as well as parental agreement about disciplinary policy and the effect of the emotional relations between the two adults on parent-child interactions. Questioning is kept on a simple descriptive level to avoid arousing the mother's feeling of exposing her husband. The same techniques may be employed when relatives live in the home or when it is desirable to determine the child's relationship with siblings not under observation.

2. THE RATING

When the ratings are made, the home environment of each child is rated separately. The mother may behave differently to various siblings or a child may perceive the home situation differently from a sibling. Therefore the observer's description of the child's home environment is recorded in a separate set of ratings.

Upon each rating sheet, as illustrated on page 33, ten different children are rated on a single variable. Siblings are included on the same sheet but the ten children may come from several different homes. This procedure of rating in groups of ten is useful for speeding the process and for allowing the rater to use man-to-man comparisons in arriving at a rating. The procedure, in addition, enforces a temporal separation of the ratings of different variables on the same child, thus reducing any tendency for the rater to artificially maintain a preconceived relationship between different variables.

A set of thirty such sheets comprises the battery. The entries in the boxes in the upper left hand part of the sheet are self-explanatory and identical for a given set of thirty scales. The rating is made by placing an X on the rating line at or near the cue which best describes the parent's behavior toward the child in question. The rating may be placed at any point along the line either opposite a cue point or between cue points, and the rater need not be concerned with the distribution of the ratings on any scale. In other words, there may be scatter among the ten children rated, or all can be marked at the same spot. The decision about the location of the X represents a combination of two processes, locating the ten children relative to each other and locating each of them relative to the cue points. Of these two processes, the location with respect to the cue points is considered the primary one and the in-

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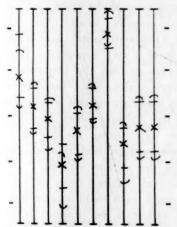
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Child

Rate the parent's tendency to enforce the standards of conduct set up for the child. Does the parent follow up to see that the child conforms, or sustains a penalty? Or are lapses in compliance disregarded?

This variable applies only to situations where there is an opportunity for the parent to enforce an accepted standard which has been, or is being, or is about to be violated by the child. Disregard the methods of enforcement and the severity of penalties. Disregard effectiveness of enforcement, and clarity to the child of standards involved. Do not confuse with the non-regulational type of parental domination covered by the "suggestion" scales.



Eternally vigilant. Goes out of way to discover and discipline misconduct. Often pounces before lapse occurs.

Seldom lets child "get away with anything." Enforces rules strictly whenever violations come to attention, but seldom deliberately hunts for misbehavior.

Moderately firm. Strict about important requirements and prohibitions; but rather lax with minor violations, especially when they are not an issue at the moment.

Reluctant to enforce standards. Tends to overlook violations unless they are flagrant, cumulative, or threaten serious consequences.

Extremely lax. Disregards obvious misbehavior. inforces regulations only when pressed by the strongest motives or the severest circumstances.

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Rater's Remarks: (continue on back of sheet)

clusion of ten different children on the same rating sheet has the function of forcing the rater to consider a large body of specific evidence relative to the cues and thus to translate the cue points into actual behavior.

Two supplementary ratings are made on each scale. The first, Tolerance, is an indication of the area above and below the rating which represents the rater's "region of uncertainty." The rater should decide within what bounds he would consider a rating by another person as substantially in agreement with his own. These tolerance limits are indicated by horizontal dashes. A second supplementary rating is the range of variability of parent behavior which the observer saw or believes would occur in other situations. The limits of this range are indicated by horizontal parentheses, as

At the bottom of the rating sheet there is space for remarks. Since there are ten children on the sheet, there should be some clear designation of which child is being described by the remark. Remarks might include the following items: (a) Mention of anything unusual about the conditions of observation or rating, e.g., "not ratable because child not talking yet," or "visit made at mealtime," or "grandmother present throughout visit"; (b) Exceptions taken to definitions or cues, e.g., it may sometimes be felt that an individual might appropriately be rated say at the mid-point of the continuum though the actual wording of the cuepoint is not entirely fitting; (c) Peculiarities of the ratee relevant to this variable but not adequately covered by the rating, e.g., where a mother is inconsistent on a variable the rater may describe the nature of this inconsistency and its impact on the child; (d) Any other qualifying remarks or mentions of difficulties encountered in using the scale, e.g., the rater might encounter a case for which the lowest or highest cue point did not seem extreme enough. It is the practice in the Fels program to transcribe these remarks to the permanent record along with the ratings so that they may be used to refine the interpretation of the profile in case studies and other research.

The ratings should be done in numerical sequence and each sheet completed at one time and before proceeding to the next. The reason for following the numerical order is that the effect of a changed order has not yet been investigated. It seems very likely that a different grouping of the scales, say into interrelated clusters, would put each rating into a different context and might, therefore, have a very appreciable effect on the norms and on the intercorrelations between scales. Since there is no difficulty in maintaining this serial order and since the changes which might be effected by substituting another serial order cannot be appraised, it seems wise to maintain the present system.

When several children from the same home are rated, each child is rated independently, but it is the practice in the Fels program to include all the siblings on the same rating sheet in order to insure that the differences among the sibs are the result of the rater's deliberate judgment rather than his unreliability. In addition, a finer discrimination is achieved among the various children in a family. Since these are ratings of a parent-child interaction as it influences the child, it is entirely logical that different children in the same family might receive different ratings on some variables at the same time that they received equivalent ratings on others.

The rating is usually an estimate of the impact of the parent's behavior on the child. This is clearly different from the parent behavior as it is perceived by the visitor. The rater should take into account how much of the behavior which he observes is evident to the child and what quality the behavior takes on when translated into the child's perception. On the other hand, impact is not identical with the child's reaction. That is, the rating is not a rating of child behavior but of parent behavior. Therefore, impact might be described as the child's perception of the behavior of the parent, or the characteristics of the parent behavior which are apparent to the child.

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Examples could be found in almost every variable to illustrate the differences between parent behavior and its impact on the child. What to the mother seems objective, rational justification for her disciplinary policy may have no impact at all upon the child, either because he is inattentive or too emotional to listen or because the explanation is beyond his comprehension. Severity of punishment is another variable which must be carefully interpreted in terms of impact on the child rather than in terms of an objective standard of severity. It is how severe the punishment seems to the child in the light of what he is accustomed to and how sensitive he is which must be evaluated by the rater. Further examples will appear in the discussions of individual scales. Generally, the rater finds that the differentiation between objective parent behavior and impact on the child is the important one to be kept in mind, but in some of the variables the distinction between the impact of parent behavior and the child's reaction is the more difficult judgment. In the scale on adjustment, for example, it is important not to infer that a home environment is maladjusted just because the child is maladjusted, and in rating severity of penalties the rater must consider the possibility that the child is purposely over-reacting or under-reacting and thus not reflecting the actual impact of the penalty upon him. There is nothing particularly mysterious about this concept of impact. It is only a statement of what every good home visitor already knows—that the child is influenced by his environment only insofar as it impinges upon him.

3. SCORING AND STANDARDIZATION

When the ratings are completed the raw score is determined by measuring the distance from the bottom of the rating line to the X. It has been found very convenient in the Fels program to make the range of raw scores 10 to 99. This is done by placing a millimeter rule so that the bottom of the scale line falls at 9.5 millimeters and the top at 99.5. The position of the rating is then read to the nearest millimeter. All scores are thus two digit numbers which are conveniently handled in computations. Since a 90-point scale represents an unnecessary refinement of the ratings (cf. Champney, 3) a millimeter error in the scoring of any rating is allowable, but evidence has shown that any coarser categorization of the scores results in the loss of information. The number of ratings necessary for the accumulation of norms must depend upon the particular situation in which the scales are employed. In the Fels program almost two hundred children are rated every six months, one rating for each child in the study. The ratings made in a six-month period are designated a "round" and norms are calculated for each round of ratings. It has been our experience that the rater's standards change during the first few rounds of ratings and that accurate results would require restandardization at least once a year. As was demonstrated in Chapter III these early ratings are, nevertheless, valid judgments about the home and correlate reasonably well with later ratings by the same visitor or with ratings made by a different visitor. The process of calculating norms for a round of ratings consists in finding, for each variable, the average and the standard deviation. The raw scores for each child are then transcribed into sigma indices.* The child who received an average rating has a sigma index of 50, and the child who was one standard deviation above the mean has a sigma index of 60. In other words, the distribution of sigma indices for any variable has an average of 50 and a standard deviation of 10. The routine procedure for transcribing raw scores into standard scores is facilitated by the use of a tabulation sheet. Each of the original rating sheets contains a rating on one variable for ten different children, and thus the ratings for the thirty variables on any one child are scattered among thirty different pages. The tabulation sheet (see p. 37) collates the ratings for a single child on all the thirty variables and also provides space for the recording of tolerance and range. On the tabulation sheet there is also room for the sigma indices so that the one sheet finally contains all the pertinent information about the ratings on one child, even including a transcription of the rater's remarks. To make the ratings

immediately interpretable, it is very convenient to present them in the form of a profile, as shown on page 28. In the profile the variables are rearranged into clusters of inter-related variables so that the interpretation of the profile is made index rather than the raw score is profiled in order that scores on the different variables will be comparable. The rating is indicated by the location of a dot along a horizontal line corresponding to the variable. Dots on the mid-line represent a sigma index of 50, corresponding to an average rating, and the location of the dot to the right or left indicates standard scores above or below 50.

4. Administration of a Rating Program

As long as a single rater is entirely with a minimum of effort. The sigma responsible for the evaluation of homes the administration of the rating program is fairly simple. Periodic checks should be made to insure the comparability of ratings made at two different times, and this can readily be done by correlating ratings made at one time with repeated ratings made at a later date. If it should be considered desirable to determine the comparability of any collection of ratings with those obtained at Fels, it would be necessary to determine the intercorrelations of the thirty variables and to compare these intercorrelations with those shown in Chapter III. When more than one rater is employed, it is vital to check periodically on the comparability of the scores obtained by different raters. In the Fels program this is done in four different ways. First, by the usual routine correlation of one round of ratings with the succeeding round. Second, by the periodic calculation of the intercorrelations of the thirty variables and examination of those intercorrelations to insure that

sigma index $= \frac{X \cdot M}{10 + 50}$

A sigma index is equivalent to the T-score as it is employed by other workers.

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the correlations of clustered variables are sufficiently high and that the correlations between clusters are the same as those on which the interpretations were based. Third, joint visiting and independent rating of a random sample of homes during each round of ratings. Comparison of the results of the two visitors under these conditions serves to check upon the comparability of their interpretations of home visit material and of the scales. Fourth, a comparison of the means and standard deviations of the raters on each of the variables. For these to form a useful comparison of the rater's standards it is necessary that the homes assigned to each rater be selected at random. If there is any bias in the assignment of homes to the different raters, differences in means and standard deviations are to be expected, but the exact amount of differences will not be predictable.

If any of these checks reveals discrepancies between raters, the primary remedy is conferencing and discussion to determine the source of the disparity. For this purpose the joint visits are very satisfactory since the visitors can resolve their differences by referring to the same evidence. What disposition can be made of the ratings showing the disparity must depend upon the particular situation. Perhaps a separate standardization for each rater would make the ratings more comparable. If one rater is clearly more experienced than the other, it may seem desirable to make a correction in the ratings of the second visitor so that his means and standard deviations correspond to those obtained by the senior

Much space has been devoted to the problem of obtaining comparable ratings because it is difficult to overemphasize

the vigilance necessary for obtaining the utmost satisfaction from the scales. It is not more difficult, however, than it would be to achieve strict comparability of clinical material.

In the following pages are presented the thirty variables, together with an amplification of each scale, illustrating the kinds of evidence and the interpretations made in the Fels-program.

THE FELS PARENT BEHAVIOR RATING SCALES

1.1 Adjustment of Home (Well-adjusted-Maladjusted)

The general criterion for this scale is the happiness of the home, the degree to which the various members of the family enjoy their lives and derive satisfactions from them. Almost any conflict or problem might bear a relationship to the adjustment of the home-matters of vocational achievement, social status, marital satisfaction, health. In estimating the importance of these problems, the rater must cautiously avoid making the appraisal in terms of his own values or those of society in general. Rather, the salient factor must continually be the family's own contentment with its way of life. For example, the deviation of a family from conventional social norms is not in itself significant unless the family is sensitive to external criticism. Or, one family may operate under objectively difficult financial circumstances without this being a source of major emotional disturbance, while another has values which make a liberal income seem restrictive and inadequate. In a word, then, the rater should give weight only to those problems which have real significance for the family, excluding those which its members are unaware of or which they accept realistically and without frustration. In another respect, also, the rating must reflect more than an a priori labeling of problems. The severity of a maladjustment depends as much upon the progress which the family finds it possible to make in solving the situation and its confidence in being able to reach a satisfactory solution as it does upon the seriousness of the current situation. In fact, an attitude of self-confidence is important evidence pointing toward a high rating on the adjustment scale.

In an over-all rating of home atmosphere, an equivalent rating is generally assigned to all the children in a family. Even when the focal point of maladjustment is the behavior of an individ-

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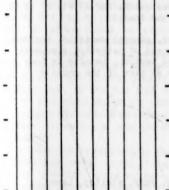
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Adjustment of Home (Well-adjusted-Waladjusted)

Hate the general internal adjustment of the family as a whole in its day-by-day relationships. Is the home atmosphere characterized by satisfaction, stability, achievement, and happy adjustment; or by thwarting, unpleasantness, repression, and insecurity?

This is a broad variable, including conflicts among persons, among motives, or with obstacles. Conflicts may be emotional, social, economic, or physical; and both overt and covert. Rate the total configuration—the quality of the child's home atmosphere.



- Exceedingly well-adjusted. Characterised by pleasant cooperation, security, and full satisfactions throughout.
- Fundamentally sound adjustment, but with minor conflicts here and there.
- Fairly smooth on surface, but suggests undercurrent of repression or insecurity.
- Definite evidence of mild maladjustment throughout.
- Dominated by maladjustment, coloring most family activities.
 - Extreme maladjustment; torn with conflict, repression, and insecurity.

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ual child, e.g., a rebellious adolescent, it has been felt that the changes wrought on the atmosphere are such as to make the home about equally maladjusted for each member of the family. In addition, the changes which the one child's behavior effect are much more precisely dealt with in subsequent scales which show exactly how parental behavior toward him compares with the behavior toward his siblings. This point of view also protects the rater from the danger of circular reasoning; that is, assuming that because a child is unhappy or maladjusted the home itself must be rated maladjusted. The feelings of the child would naturally modify the

rating accorded the entire family but only to the extent to which his troubles are a pervading influence on the atmosphere. Methodologically it is obvious that for a study of the relationship between parental attitudes and child adjustment the appraisal of parental attitudes must be more than a reflection of the child's adjustment.

In general, the rater encounters little difficulty in assigning ratings at the upper or lower extreme of this scale. Two general classes of people are found in the middle range—those who have occasional recurrent periods of maladjustment with relative stability in between and those who function at a middle-of-the-road level fairly con-

sistently, never being fully content yet not being so frustrated as to justify a designation of deep maladjustment.

1.2 Activeness of the Home (Active-Inactive)

The topic of this scale is the tempo of the home, the pace at which people talk, move, react. Evidence is readily available in every action of the family members, whether they go about their activities with speed and alacrity or slowly and lethargically. The tendency for the home to be busy with activity, "always on the go," or to be quiet and inactive with not much going on is involved in this scale. It seems advisable to observe as many different kinds of situations as possible; the mother doing her housework, playing with the children, busying herself indoors and outdoors, as well as sitting for purposes of conversation. Probably the most significant aspect for the child is the mother's tempo as it appears in her interaction with him. Does she snap through his routines, speak

FELS PARENT BEHAVIOR RATING SCALE NO. 1.2

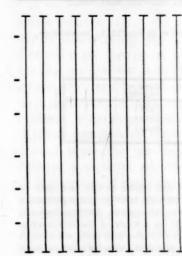
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Activeness of the Home (Active—Inactive)

Rate the general activity level of the home, taking the household as a whole. Is the home atmosphere active, quick, and alert; or is it inactive, slow, and inert?

This is a broad, general variable, including amount and quickness of activity, alertness, decisiveness, and tension, insofar as they are manifest overtly as part of the child's environment.



- Home extremely bustling, busy, excited, tense.
- People in home move quickly, talk rapidly, work with dispatch. Home alert, wide-awake, moving, decisive.
- People move, talk, and work without haste, but with some dispatch. Home alert, but not hypertense.
 - People move, talk, and walk with leisurely deliberateness. Home relaxed, but not lackadaisical.
- People move slowly, talk slowly, work slowly. Home passive, relaxed, easy-going, indecisive.
 - Home poky, lackadaisical, lazy, slow-moving, procrastinating.

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At the high end of a group of families are found those in which activities are conducted with considerable bustle, a pace which clicks along, mothers who make a point of keeping busy. These tend to be the women who combine two sedentary activities such as social conversation and sewing, and who usually have something ahead that they must get at. At the extreme end of this group are the really hyperactive people who find it so frustrating to be sedentary that they conduct every activity at break-neck speed.

The middle group includes those homes in which activities are conducted at a moderate pace or those which may be hurried or leisurely depending upon the situation, e.g., some mothers may sail through housework with considerable briskness, but like sedentary recreation.

At the low end of the scale are those homes which are characterized by general lethargy, people whose movements and reactions are slow and involve effort. The kind of fat person for whom movement seems to involve great effort and who won't get up from a chair except with reluctance falls at the low end of this scale. Here are also found the people who drag themselves around like invalids and whose actions lack animation or vigor, and who are often slow or

It is important to supplement observations in the home with verbal reports of the family program of activities. Some mothers particularly enjoy sitting down and relaxing during a visit, but descriptions of their work schedule constitute reliable evidence that they are busy and active people. The home visitor should be careful not to allow the efficiency of the home to influence his judgment of the level of activity. Hurriers may or may not get things done expeditiously. One kind of inept housewife is characterized by her speed, but her swiftness of action does not result in accomplishment because organization is poor. A kind of mother who is difficult to rate on this variable is one who demonstrates a reluctant haste, perhaps being forced by a busy schedule to push herself beyond her apparent energy level. She does things hurriedly, but with an initial hesitance and distaste for being forced to hurry. These people can be rated somewhat lower than the actual level of speed at which they operate, reasoning that the reluctance does actually change the quality of tempo of the home.

The concept of tension has been specifically excluded from the definition and the cue points for this scale because raters who have used the scale have found it impossible to make an integrated rating of tension and tempo. There are inert households which are fairly electric with

tension, and brisk homes which maintain a relaxed psychological atmosphere. It is felt that tension is reflected in other scales, particularly Discord in the Home (1.5), and can, therefore, be ignored here.

1.5 Discord in the Home (Conflict-Harmony)

This scale is descriptive of interpersonal contention or congeniality in the home atmosphere, with particular emphasis on conflict which impinges on the child. Two factors are involved, the amount of discord and its severity. It is important to evaluate the quality of the atmosphere, not to be misled by mere loudness but to distinguish superficial teasing from that which reflects deeper hostility. The homes where relationships are friendly even though interaction involves trivial bickering and razzing are usually more harmonious than homes composed of nagging, sullen, or aloof people where conflicts are serious even though they rarely break through as overt outspoken disputes.

The factor which is probably considered the most important in rating this scale is the mother's general irritability, but here again it is important to find out as much as possible about the father or other adults in the home, utilizing remarks about "hot temper," or "he's so much calmer than I am," or anything which reveals his role as an irritant or harmonious factor in the group. Some parents are very careful to keep a united front before the children and only release their antagonism in private. For others the presence of the children is so irritating that the parents have a more harmonious relationship in their separate adult lives. The rating should be determined by the conflict actually impinging on the child.

One type of home rated at the harmonious end of this scale shows evidence of amiable relationships in which the observer feels that there is a fundamental similarity of ideas and personal goals. There are other family groups also rated as harmonious which are so passive that no member of the group meets opposition or contradiction. In still another type of harmonious home, dominant and submissive roles are clearly worked out in such a way that the harmony is never disturbed, "never a cross word." Generally homes which work out differences of opinion calmly, rationally, nonemotionally, and find agreeable solutions to problems which arise, are rated at the low end of the scale.

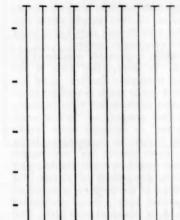
The large group of families described by the cues in the middle area of the scale are those in which basic relationships are congenial and in which contention is mild or superficial. There may be a good deal of arguing and bickering; children "talk back," contradict and argue with parents; there are brief tiffs; but relationships

Discord in the Home (Conflict-Harmony)

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Rate the extent to which the home surrounds the child with an atmosphere of overt conflict, discord, unpleasant argument, recrimination, quarreling, complaining. Is the home atmosphere marked by unpleasant discord among individuals? Or are the inter-personal relations of the household typically harmonious, friendly, and agreeable?

Disregard conflict between the object-child and other individuals. Include discord among siblings, domestics, parents, etc. Disregard other types of maladjustment, as worry, insecurity, grief, illness, cynicism. Include discord only insofar as it impinges more or less directly upon the child.



- Household flies into vindictive recriminations, bitter disputes, on slightest provocation.
- Underlying discords often break through the general surface harmony as sharp arguments, or ill-natured sarcasm. Frequent unpleasant wrangling, complaining, squabbling.
- Harmonious basic relationships, overlaid with a good deal of surface contention, bickering, and teasing.
- Tolerant, friendly. Arguments tend to be good-natured. Teasing occasional. Quarrels rare.
 - Peaceful, harmonious, agreeable atmosphere reigns. Household harmony disturbed only under rare and extreme circumstances.

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are such that important issues are worked out agreeably even though there may be wrangling in the process. Particularly in farm families—and it may be true of other cultural groups in which "joshing" is an accepted kind of social interaction—fine differentiations of tone must be recognized in order to evaluate the amount of hostility which motivates the teasing.

The top range of the scale describes those families in which the atmosphere is fairly loaded with hostility. This is seen in quickly aroused irritation, a ready exchange of insults and gripes, severe sibling fighting and the deliberate inciting of anger. The precise point at which an individual family is rated is dependent upon how many people are in conflict, how actively they express their various hostilities, and the role of these people in the child's life. Thus, for most children, conflict between the parents is probably more significant than conflict between siblings whether or not he is a party to the latter. But in some cases a child's relationship to his siblings may be an even more important factor than the presence or lack of parental harmony.

An important consideration in observing the home is that conflicts may become more subtle with increasing age of the child. Both children and parents often become restrained in the visitor's presence, allowing less opportunity to witness open argument. It is necessary then to rely more on sulking, bickering, sarcasm and sullen hostility as evidence and somehow to equate the three-year-old temper tantrum with a sarcastic exchange between a mother and a fifteen-yearold. Conflict may be a fundamental difference of opinion and lack of harmony which does not appear in the form of verbal argument but instead is shown in inhibition, coldness, sullenness, and general estrangement. To the extent that this has an impact on the child it deserves a rating just as the more overt forms of conflict.

Evidence for an extreme rating at either end of this scale is not readily available. Stipulations for the first cue are extreme in view of the normal amount of domestic crises which must be met and problems for which solutions must be found. Unless the observer has the opportunity to witness a crisis, he cannot be sure how much the household would be disturbed under those circumstances. At the high extreme of the

(Aggressive-Reclusive)

PELS PARENT BEHAVIOR RATING SCALE NO. 1.6a

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Rate the family as a whole according to the degree to which its energies are directed outward from the home toward society. Is the family constantly initiating contacts and participation with neighbors, friends, relatives, and in the church, lodge, P.T.A., etc; or is it reclusive and inwardly oriented, taking little interest in and avoiding contacts with the community?

Sociability of Family

Include all social contacts outside the inmediate household, excepting necessary business routine. Include both breadth and depth of sociability. Include interest, activity, initiative, hospitality.

- Family constantly active socially; always seeking new contacts; eager and uninhibited mixers.
- Actively interested in what is going on outside the household; mix readily, without being overaggressive.
- Accept contacts with enthusiasm, but hesitate to intrude into the lives of others.
- Neither avoid nor initiate social activities; accept contacts passively.
- Tend to avoid direct social intercourse; seldom go out; rarely entertain.
- Family resents social advances from outside the household; never mixes socially.

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scale, evidence is equally hard to obtain because a modicum of restraint is ordinarily shown, by the adults at least, in the visitor's presence.

1.6a Sociability (Expansive-Reclusive)

The sociability variable describes the tendency of the home to be socially inclined or to be inwardly oriented. Does the family enjoy and seek out contacts with people outside the home, participating in activities and expanding its group of friends, or does it express an unfriendly attitude toward outsiders, begrudging the time spent in contacts with other people. It is one of the easier variables to observe, in that informal conversation can be readily directed toward family social activities and in that the mother's behavior during the home visit itself reveals her attitude toward social contacts. Some mothers are consistently friendly, showing personal warmth and interest and attempting to become acquainted with the visitor beyond the professional role, whereas others treat the visit in a strictly businesslike fashion. The way a parent entertains the home visitor is enlightening about her concept of social contacts. She may get dressed up as if for an occasion or she may remain comfortably attired in a house dress with apparent unconcern about the impression she is making. She may sit formally in the living room or finish the ironing while she converses with the visitor. This kind of observation is good evidence for the quality of the sociability, the extent to which it is a conscious achievement requiring special effort or, on the other hand, whether it is informal and spontaneous.

It is important to determine the breadth of social contacts, whether they are within a single clique or varied and all-inclusive. All-around sociability includes community activities, church, club, etc., as well as more personal friendship and neighborliness. Secondly, the observer must look for the presence or absence of social initiative in order to determine whether the family members are active organizers and joiners or whether they accept contacts passively.

Having arrived at a judgment of the family's social activities, the rater must determine the extent to which they include or impinge upon the child. The parent may actively foster sociability in the child by such means as providing for parties and encouraging club memberships. Even in the absence of such sociability at the child's level, the parents may include the child in their own activities—that is, there may be friends and neighbors in and out of the house all day, and visits to other people made as a family unit. In cases where the parents' social life is conducted independently of the child, for example formal entertaining after he is in bed for the night or visiting when he is left at home

with a sitter, the rating is lower than if he were a participant, but even so it is higher than the rating given truly reclusive homes where contacts are unwelcome and avoided. The socially isolated home, since it is composed of non-sociable personalities, exerts a different influence on the child than one in which activities occur, even if they are completely adult centered.

Families whose lives are thoroughly isolated from the rest of the world, who not only don't mix but who are actively hostile toward advances from outsiders, and who resent such contacts as are required, are rated at the extreme low end of this scale. In the range just above this are the people who show various degrees of avoidance of social contact, perhaps limiting their contacts to relatives, rarely showing any initiative in acquiring acquaintances. Also in this group are rated those mothers who prefer to be isolated but whose husbands' professions involve certain obligations of entertaining and participating in organizations. If they limit contacts to these official ones and express a distaste for what is required, they are rated low, even though they have superficially active social lives. Above these fall the large group of people who are pleased by social contacts, but who, for one reason or another, still lead only moderately active social lives. This may result from social passivity, being tied down with young children, or being isolated by geographic location of the home, despite the wish for more expanded contacts. The top range of the scale is used for those families who are definitely social in interests and activities, the rating being determined by the extent to which they are aggressive about making advances and broad in their interests, perhaps including community activities such as church and the Red Cross as well as a large group of personal friends.

1.7 Coordination of Household (Coordinated-Chaotic)

The central concept of this scale is that of the smoothly-run household. Evidence is easily obtained in the home visit situation. Casual conversation usually reveals such characteristics as work routine, buying habits, and tendency to budget time and money. The rater should also consider the extent to which the family makes long range plans and executes these plans successfully, modifying them in keeping with changing circumstances. Housekeeping standards are relatively observable, but the visitor must be disciplined not to confuse orderliness and efficient arrangement of equipment which characterize a well-organized household with personal, esthetic, or socio-economic standards.

Flexibility is an important aspect of this variable. A schedule and organization which is

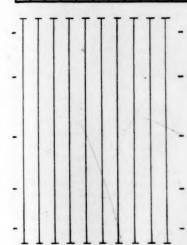
Coordination of Household (Coordinated-Chaotic)

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Rate the routine functioning of the household as to its smoothnessof organization. Is it effectively planned and executed? Or is it uncoordinated and chaotic?

Rate on basis of effectiveness in operation rather than tendency to systematize every detail. Include care of belongings, coordination of schedule, planning, meeting of responsibilities, and general efficiency of organization as it works in practice. Disregard variations in aesthetic standards, style, form, socio-economic status. etc.



- Extremely effective management. Model of efficiency. Long-range planning, flexibly executed. Confusion un-
- Smooth-running and efficient on the whole. House kept in order and on schedule most of time. Heals, finances, education planned ahead. Some superficial disorder.
- Fair coordination. Considerable disorder, but can usually find things. Buying inefficient, but meals fairly adequately planned. Sometimes off schedule, but never miss trains.
- Poor coordination; essential rudiments of organization are there, but inefficiency and confusion are common.

 Often late; off schedule half the time. House disorderly.
- Chaotic, disorganized. Nothing happens on schedule. No planning. Equipment in tangled scramble. Confusion reigns even in essentials.

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so rigid as to allow for no variations is often less coordinated than one which may be less meticulously systematized but which can always rise to emergencies or be modified when necessary without causing confusion. For example, if happenings such as unexpected guests or the illness of one of the children results in chaos, the organization is not functionally effective. The ease with which a housewife manages her home can be utilized in this rating in that it is good evidence that the organization is running smoothly. If, on the other hand, the mother is rushed and harried in the effort to live up to her

housekeeping standards, the atmosphere is more chaotic, although final effects may be the same.

The cues which constitute the scale provide good examples of the kind of evidence which can be used in making ratings on this variable. The households at the low end of the scale are those characterized by poor management and confusion. Planning tends to be on a day-to-day basis; equipment can never be found; the most every day events never transpire on schedule, and as a housekeeper the mother is never caught up with her work. Spring house cleaning drags on for months; needs of the family are not antici-

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pated in advance; and children are late to school because socks had to be ironed dry before they could be worn.

In the middle range are those households in which coordination is fairly well carried out, the schedule is met ordinarily and the house is usually in order. There are frequent occasions for confusion, however, and long-range planning is rarely attempted. In the homes rated at the top range of the scale, the schedule is practical and adhered to in such a way that there is little doubt about what is going to come next. The house is neat and in order. Buying is economical and done in advance. If the mother cans food, she figures out just how much of what the family will need for the coming winter. The family saves in advance for major expenditures rather than going into debt. As a housewife, the mother dispatches her work and other demands on time, with efficiency, and shows facility for finding short-cuts and time-saving devices.

The cues for this scale are clearly defined and present few ambiguities, but certain inconsistent households raise rating problems. There are some families which do extensive planning but which fail to carry out these plans. In these cases ratings may justifiably be raised slightly on the grounds that there is a tendency to try to achieve organization, but inasmuch as the scale gives primary importance to smoothness of functioning, it is this which should influence the rater's final judgment. In a second kind of household which is difficult to rate there is a disparity between coordination in one area and another. There are families who are very economical and plan for the future in such a sense as improvements on the house and children's education, but who minimize the importance of housekeeping standards to an extent which results in extreme disorder. While the age of the child generally does not affect a household's rating on this variable, it can be utilized to resolve the difficulty in cases of this kind of inconsistency with the rationale that the young child will be confused by household chaos while the fact that his parents are making college plans for him is relatively less significant.

1.91 Child-Centeredness of the Home (Childcentered-Child-subordinating)

This variable measures the orientation of the home about the child's welfare. The mother may plan her day to have plenty of time for the child's care, plan recreation which involves the child, or she may subordinate the child, fitting his routines to her own convenience or the convenience of other members of the household. She may continually push herself to find everything possible to make the child's life happier and healthier or his behavior more in keeping

with her standards. A household built around the child may be so organized because the mother sees it as her duty or because she likes the child's company and prefers joint activities with him to any other way of spending her time.

Factors such as the size of the family, the culture pattern, and the amount of leisure, as well as the parents' own personality, are influential in making the home child-centered or child-subordinated. A group of women who are predominantly housewives rather than career women, who have financial security and a standard of living which can be obtained without great effort, will tend to be child-centered; on the other hand, a woman in difficult financial straits, forced to support her family, can furnish only the barest essentials of her child's needs.

Evidence at the extreme low end of this scale consists of outright neglect. Bordering on this is the home which attends only to the most critical needs of the children. They may be provided with a house and clothing and food that they can forage for themselves, but the mother is largely unaware of the children's activities or their whereabouts. Above this is the mother who does not neglect the child's physical welfare, makes sure he gets to school, and plans for him to a degree, but who arranges her own life and her child's so that his activities interfere as little as possible with her own personal interests. For example, the mother who drags a six-year-old on a five hour shopping trip without stopping to feed or toilet him would be rated at the second cue, as would other mothers showing callousness and selfishness.

In the range of the third cue are mothers who would rather not be bothered with the child, but who feel certain obligations and do satisfy the child's most obvious needs. Such an attitude is often shown too in a home which is oriented around a more favored sib. This general range is frequently descriptive of the very busy, hardworking mothers who have little time to "fool with" children. Family energies, as in many farm families, are directed toward the basic subsistence of the entire group so that personal needs of the individual are sacrificed when necessary.

Above the third cue are those homes in which the child has a clearly important place in the family scheme of living. These mothers enjoy child-rearing, but don't allow their lives to be entirely dominated by considerations for the child. One of this group may take parental responsibilities seriously and enjoy spending time with her children, but has a separate relationship with her husband which sometimes excludes her children. Or the mother may have extensive interests outside the home, but she nevertheless makes a definite place for the child in her

Child-Centeredness of Home (Child-centered—Child-subordinatin

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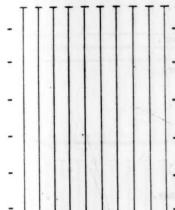
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Rate the organization of the household according to the degree to which it is built around the child's needs and welfare. Does the child get more than his proportionate share of consideration; or is his welfare subordinated to that of other members of the household?

Rate for the specific child, as against the entire remaining household including siblings. Behavior is "child-centered" to the extent that it involves sacrifice of pleasure, convenience, opportunity, etc., in attempting to benefit the child.



- Whole household revolves around child; many major sacrifices for child's trivial comforts.
- Consideration for child clearly predominates, but not to the exclusion of other interests.
- Child's welfare gets slightly more attention than the welfare of others.
- Child gets proportional consideration; is as often disregarded as sacrificed for.
- Although given attention in critical matters, on the whole, child gets neglected in favor of other interests.
- Household organized around interests of other members. Child definitely neglected even in essential matters.

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Rater's Remarks: (continue on back of sheet)

hierarchy of interests.

In order for a parent to be rated at the upper extreme of this scale, evidence must indicate that the parent's life is "wrapped up" in and dominated by the child's needs. The child comes first to an extent which excludes other interests. If the child is the favored of several, the other children will be neglected while the mother centers her attentions and satisfactions on this one child. More often the child in this position has no siblings. Separations from the child are painful to the mother, and the entire household is oriented in reference to him. The child is provided with the best of everything.

2.11 Duration of Contact (Extensive-Brief)

This scale is designed to indicate the amount of opportunity for parent-child stimulation. Evidence is largely based on the child's schedule, his time of rising, the time at which he leaves for school, whether or not he has lunch at home, whether he plays away from home after school or within the range of ready contact with the mother, and whether his free time in the evening is spent in activity with the mother or in some private recreation. When the child does home work, it may be in the living room with the rest of the family group, or in a remote section of the house. Some mothers go out frequently;

FELS PARENT BEHAVIOR RATING SCALE NO. 2.11

Serial Sheet no.

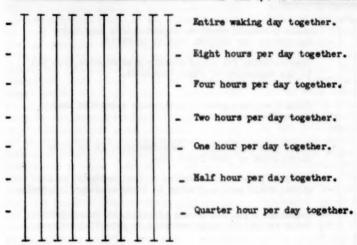
Duration	of	Contact
	(Ext	tensive-Brief)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Number
										Period of obser- vation Ratee
										Age in
										End of Period
										Child

Rate the parent in terms of the number of hours (for an average day) of actual contact with the child.

"Contact" is here defined as a situation in which the parent and child are sufficiently alert and close together to make social intercourse possible--amount of opportunity for parentchild stimulation.

Base rating on total impression, from observation and conversation. Avoid direct quizzing as basis for rating. Judge in terms of average for a typical week. (To correct weekday figure, add 1/7 of weekend excess contact)



							*			Score	Rater:	Date of Rating:
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Rater's Bemarks: (continue on back of sheet)

others not at all. What time does the child go to bed? In some homes weekends are spent in family outings; in others the child spends his time with his own play group, independent of the family. With school age children, duration of contact undoubtedly increases during the summer, but again this depends on the child's activities. One girl may spend a major part of her time helping her mother with housework, while another may spend several weeks away at camp. Jobs and chores which remove the child from the immediate realm of the mother should be taken into account. A pre-school child might play at his mother's feet or in a separate play

room. He may spend mornings in nursery school, or in his own yard or house under the mother's supervision, or in a neighbor's yard. When the child is playing outdoors, it is important to consider the amount of running in and out of the house. Observations of a two-hour sample are utilized, of course, but it must be determined whether or not the sample is typical, as frequently the child is kept near at hand simply because the visitor is present. Observations must be supplemented with indirect interview about the child's typical day, not by direct questioning about how much time mother and child spend to2.12 Intensity of Contact (Vigorous-Inert)

The central concept involved in this scale is parental reactivity during contacts with the child, the extent to which the mother stimulates and responds to him. For purposes of rating this scale the rater appraises interaction in terms of its vigor rather than its content; all behavior of the mother toward the child provides evidence. Such behavior is a reflection of the mother's general personality, her constraint and social aloofness, or her tendency to respond readily and with little discrimination

to social stimuli. An intense contact is one factor in a warm parent-child relationship: such contacts may also be unpleasant and hostile in nature. Thus, the continual naggers and fault-finders, although hostile, have vigorous contacts with the child.

A parent rated at the extreme low end of the scale is characterized by a markedly unexpressive, withdrawn personality, the impassive face which excludes the child and gives the impression that he is being looked through. The first cue point is reserved for behavior which is extreme in this

FELS PARENT BEHAVIOR RATING SCALE NO. 2.12

Serial Sheet No.

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2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Number
									Period of obser- vation
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		979				-	1		Child
	2	2 3	2 3 4	2 3 4 5	2 3 4 5 6	2 3 4 5 6 7	2 3 4 5 6 7 8	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Intensity of Contact (Vigorous—Inert)

Rate the reactivity of the parent during contacts with the child. Does the parent react readily and vigorously; or does the parent tend to disregard the child during contact situations?

"Reactivity" includes both initiating social intercourse with the child and responding to the child's initiative. It includes attention, suggestion, affection, coercion, help, conversation, criticism, information, play, scolding, threatening, feeding, explaining, etc.

Rate only on situations where there is opportunity for stimulation—independent of duration of contact.

- -
- Intensively vigorous, overstimulating, excited.
- Active, readily attentive, vigorous.
- . Fairly active, responsive, alert.
- Accessible, interested, half-hearted, reserved.
- Perfunctory, passive, retiring, taciturn, bored, busy.
- _ Oblivious, absorbed, inaccessible, preoccupied.

										Score	Raters	Date of Rating:
										Tolerance	Scored by:	Dates
										Range	Checked by:	Dates
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Number	Tabulated by:	Dates

Rater's Remarks: (continue on back of sheet)

respect, and therefore is rarely used. Behavior described by the second cue point is exhibited more frequently by mothers who do not respond to the child except when motivated by extreme circumstances. The child must be badly hurt before the mother will soothe him or excessively misbehave before she will reprimand him. She may respond vigorously on occasion, but most of her responses are perfunctory, an idle yes or no without attention to what the child has said.

In the middle range of the scale are found those parents who respond to the child, but who do not initiate social interaction. They give the impression of inhibition or lack of enthusiasm in their relationships with the child. The top area of this scale describes the people who demonstrate positive reactions to the child's behavior, show interest, make suggestions, attempt to elicit some kind of behavior from him. The mother may be extensively stimulating, bombarding the child with continual criticisms or suggestions, or she may continually encourage the child, hanging on his every word or action. The mother who is both stimulating and responsive to the extreme receives the highest rating.

The age of the child does not determine the reactivity of the parent, but it will influence the kind of behavior to which she will be responding. In infants, the level of interest which the mother demonstrates during routines must be discerned. She may be perfunctory, paying little attention to the child, treating the whole thing in a very businesslike fashion, or she may talk to the child, play with him, make the routine a social event. Inert contact is more conspicuous when children are young and continually making demands on the mother, whereas the tone of the relationship may be established and parent and child will be mutually oblivious to one another by the time the child reaches adolescence.

3.11 Restrictiveness of Regulations (Restrictiveness-Freedom)

Ratings on this variable indicate how restricted the child's behavior would be if he conformed to parental standards for his conduct. The most significant evidence for making this rating is that which reveals how completely parental standards determine what the child's behavior shall be—how meticulous and detailed and specific is the parent's idea of how the child should conduct himself. The rater must determine how much the individual child is restricted, taking into account the significance to the child of the various areas in which his freedom is curbed. Felt restrictions obviously present clearer evidence than do limitations which the child apparently accepts and internalizes

or is unaware of; and if the rater believes that there is complete acceptance or complete lack of awareness, then no restriction exists.

A policy described by the first cue is rarely found, only probably in cases of extreme neglect. as there are almost always a certain number of do's and don'ts beyond those which protect the child from physical injury or sheer delinquency. In the range of the next cue, the extensive freedom may be granted deliberately, or it may occur quite casually because the mother doesn't bother to make regulations. In any case, few parental standards are conveyed to the child. With the young child, these parents are late and casual about establishing routine training in toileting, eating, care of property, etc. The parents of an older child may regulate his behavior no more than to suggest that he inform them where he plans to spend the evening. Without parental opposition, these children create their own lives, plan their own time, and generally determine their own mode of behavior.

The middle range of the scale is used to describe restrictions which represent to the parent and child a reasonable compromise; for instance, a parent who imposes general limits within which the child can function freely. The young child may be allowed to roam the block provided he doesn't cross the street, or an older child may be permitted to attend as many movies as he likes if he comes home immediately afterwards.

The upper range of the scale provides for increasing degrees of rigidity and of preciseness of demands upon the child, his conduct being delineated by a multitude of do's and don'ts and how's and where's. Play may be limited by the fact that he can play only within his own yard and with parent-selected playmates. Standards of neatness and propriety limit what he can do or the extent to which he can participate in a play group. There are prescribed things to eat, and a way to eat them, a proper way to paint and approved subjects to paint. At this extreme, behavior is more restricted than is reasonable from the point of view of the child's welfare or family convenience.

Raters encounter difficulties when rating certain intellectual homes which are relatively free from many of the conventional restrictions; homes in which messiness, noise, or impudence may be tolerated, but in which there is real pressure in non-disciplinary areas such as the child's intellectual achievements, creativity, or general maturity. These pressures are more subtle than rules about minding mama and saying please and thank you, but they may nonetheless be apparent to the child and perceived by him as restrictions.

It is evident that restrictiveness is more readily

FELS PARENT BEHAVIOR RATING SCALE NO. 3.11 Serial Sheet No.

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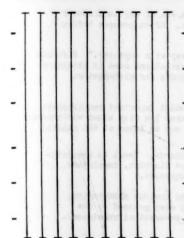
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			-	91	17		100			End of Period
				10		10.00			17	Child

Restrictiveness of Regulations (Restrictiveness—Freedom)

Rate the restrictiveness of the regulations set up or implied by the parent as standards to which the child is expected to conform. Are the requirements numerous and severe; or few and mild? In meeting these standards would the child be highly circumscribed in his behavior, or would he still have a large measure of freedom?

Disregard whether requirements are sharply codified rules, or merely implied in the disciplinary policy. Disregard the parent's motives, and methods of enforcement. Include both prohibitions and positive requirements. Consider the standards expected regardless of how well they are enforced. Rate relative to child's age.



- Parent's standards for child's conduct are minutely restrictive beyond all reasonable interpretation of either child's welfare or family convenience.
- Requirements are unnecessarily abundant and exacting, but usually aimed at practical ends rather than "pure discipline".
- Restrictions are moderate and practical, but parent shows little concern for child's freedom as an end, slapping on requirements whenever they seem expedient.
- Standards and regulations are somewhat liberal.

 Freedom is allowed in a few matters commonly subject to regimentation.
- Child isexpected to conform to a few basic standards, but parent will endure considerable annoyance rather than unduly restrict child's freedom.
- Standards are both scarce and mild, limiting child's freedom barely enough to avoid the police and the hospital.

										Score
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1	2	3.	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Number

Rater:	Datecof Rating:
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Checked by:	Date:
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Rater's Remarks: (continue on back of sheet)

recognized if the child is rebellious. Then it is possible to establish the parent's limits. Homes in which children are highly conforming and passive about controls are more difficult to appraise in that the parent is less frequently forced to demonstrate his standards. In such cases the rater must make a clinical judgment as to whether the child feels restricted but does not overtly protest or whether he has internalized adult standards.

3.12 Readiness of Enforcement (Vigilant-Lax)

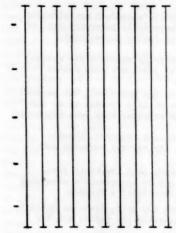
The criterion for ratings on this variable is the vigilance with which parental requirements for the child's behavior are enforced. Factors involved include the parent's awareness of instances in which the child fails to conform to standards, the promptitude with which regulations are enforced, the regularity of enforcement, the degree to which the parent follows up to obtain conformity, and the readiness with which he imposes penalties. It is important to recognize the difference between this scale and the next one, Severity of Punishment (3.13); it is possible for parents to be vigilant but not severe, or lax but punitive. Although the readiness with which a parent inflicts severe punishment as a means of achieving enforcement is

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										Child

Readiness of Enforcement (Vigilant-Lax)

Rate the parent's tendency to enforce the standards of conduct set up for the child. Does the parent follow up to see that the child conforms, or sustains a penalty? Or are lapses in compliance disregarded?

This variable applies only to situations where there is an opportunity for the parent to enforce an accepted standard which has been, or is being, or is about to be violated by the child. Disregard the methods of enforcement and the severity of penalties. Disregard effectiveness of enforcement, and clarity to the child of standards involved. Do not confuse with the non-regulational type of parental domination covered by the "suggestion" scales.



- Eternally vigilant. Goes out of way to discover and discipline misconduct. Often pounces before lapse occurs.
- Seldom lets child "get away with anything." Enforces rules strictly whenever violations come to attention, but seldom deliberately hunts for misbehavior.
- Moderately firm. Strict about important requirements
 and prohibitions; but rather lax with minor violations,
 especially when they are not an issue at the moment.
- Reluctant to enforce standards. Tends to overlook violations unless they are flagrant, cumulative, or threaten serious consequences.
- Extremely lax. Disregards obvious misbehavior. Enforces regulations only when pressed by the strongest motives or the severest circumstances.

										Score	Rater:	Date of Rating:		
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1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Number	Tabulated by:	Dates		

Rater's Remarks: (continue on back of sheet)

generally an indication of vigilance, the parent who curbs misbehavior promptly with a word or two, achieving conformity from the child, may be enforcing regulations quite as vigilantly as one who boxes ears at the first offense. Alertness to trivial misdemeanors implies more vigilance than does prompt punishment of serious misbehavior. Vigilance is not, however, the same as effectiveness; the strict parent will rate high even though the child frequently tests limits and provokes disciplinary situations.

An example of the kind of behavior to be found at the first cue is that of the parent who issues a command and five minutes later watches a violation with apparent obliviousness. This sort of parent, though he has the usual expressed or implicit standards for his child's behavior, lets him "get away with murder." The range of the second cue is less extreme, including those people who are reluctant to enforce standards, ignore misbehavior for the most part or make only desultory efforts at control; these may threaten but do not carry out their threats, or they ignore misbehavior for a long time before cracking down. Occasions for strict enforcement are few and far between.

The third cue allows for parents who are inconsistent or who discriminate between violations; these parents tend to overlook misdemeanors until they accumulate, perhaps warning

Severity of Actual Penalties (Wild-Severe)

Serial Sheet No.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Number

Period of observation

Ratee
Age in Months at End of Period

Child

Rate the severity of penalties imposed when parent takes official note of misconduct. Are penalties acutely severe, or light and inconsequential?

Do not consider situations where parent entirely disregards misconduct, invoking no penalties. Include all censorial reactions from mild verbal reproof to severe corporal punishment and removal of privileges. Consider only such situations as come under express or implied regulations and standards. Try to judge the penalties in terms of their negative motivating power for the particular child.

-

- Severe penalties, frequently stimulating child to dread, terror, or deep personal resentment.
- Rather severe on the whole, but inclined to be lenient in extenuating circumstances.
- Moderate penalties. Severe enough to have definite motivating power for the child; but not so severe that the child is overinhibited, severely frightened or deeply resentful.
- Mild penalties predominate. May be severe in critical situations; but penalties often seem too mild to have much motivating power.
- Most flagrant misbehavior provokes no penalty more severe than weak verbal remonstrance. Penalties are so light that their potency for the child is negligible.

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9	Rater:	Date of Rating:	
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Rater's Remarks: (continue on back of sheet)

the child but withholding penalty until the offense has been repeated, refraining from action until sure that the child will not voluntarily modify his behavior. It is frequently used also for the mother whose enforcement policies are dependent on the mood of the moment, so that she clamps down more readily when she is irritable or tired.

The upper range of the scale describes those parents who are definitely vigilant—almost belligerently so. They allow few lapses, usually notice misbehavior and act promptly, and follow through with punishment in the event the child fails to conform. The top extreme brings in the

concept of distrust of the child, including those parents who anticipate misbehavior, accusing the child before the act or threatening him when there is no isue. These are the ones who give no opportunity for explanation, scold and punish on the assumption that the child has automatically been at fault.

3.13 Severity of Punishment (Mild-Severe)

On this scale, the rater must be especially attentive to the impact of the parent's behavior on the child. The scale is not constructed to create a hierarchy of types of corporal punishment, but it is, instead, an effort to evaluate the

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violanisderning child's own feelings about the severity of the measures which the parent employs. The rating should not depend upon the mother's attitude about punishment; certain mothers consider spanking a severe measure but are unaware of the crushing effect of disapproval shown less directly. In order to evaluate the child's perception of punishment, it is necessary to interpret his response to the situation and to reconstruct his view of the disciplinary measure. In interpreting his response, the rater must take care not to translate the child's reaction directly into a rating of severity because he may be deliberately stoical or over-reactive. Other elements of the situation beside his reaction must also be taken into account and interpreted from the child's point of view. How well does the punishment fit the crime? Does this punishment represent a departure from family tradition or is it in accord with the child's earlier experience? The process of arriving at judgments tends to be one of evaluating the punitive measures and then adjusting the rating according to the child's response.

There is clearly an intimate relationship between readiness of enforcement and severity of punishment. An extremely low rating on the first implies a low rating on severity because any punishment cannot fail to mean that the parent has made an attempt at enforcement. There are parents, however, who are extremely haphazard in their enforcement, yet so severe when they do punish that they receive moderately low ratings on readiness of enforcement and at the same time relatively high ratings on severity of penalties.

The lower range of this scale describes parents who impose only inconsequential penalties, weak remonstrances or fruitless nagging which hardly reaches the child. These are the passive parents who seem dominated by their children or who are afraid of hurting the child or risking the loss of his affection. The next cue specifies evidence which indicates that penalties imposed are characteristically mild. For example, if the child is "isolated" in a position on the stairs where he can still participate in the group and his mood is unruffled, the penalty cannot be considered to have a strong negative motivating factor. Also, any evidence indicating that the parent is punitive only in critical situations would imply a rating in the area of the second

The middle range of the scale includes a large variety of parents, and the rater must be aware that they can be given equivalent ratings for different reasons. Examples of the kinds of parents who are rated here: those parents who consistently mete out mild penalties; those who tend to be mild but who get tough on occasion;

those who crack down with extra severity when emotional or when a particular, emotionally tinged standard is flaunted; those who express annoyance by a "bawling out," which serves to subdue the child but from which he snaps back without resentment or sullenness.

The parents described in the upper half of the scale are clearly punitive, behaving with some rigor when they notice misbehavior and meting out penalties which definitely motivate the child. Extreme ratings depend on the extent to which the child is frightened, overinhibited, or deeply resentful. At the extreme are those homes in which parents react to all violations with strong punitive measures and in which the child over-responds. The parent's tendency to excuse or blame the child for the type of behavior not covered by regulations or accidents in general is indicative of his general predisposition to harsh or mild punishments.

In using this scale the rater is frequently required to integrate inconsistent evidence, deciding what is typical of the parent who whips one day, scolds the next, and ignores the next, all for the same offense. There is no patent way of resolving these inconsistencies, other than to look for the parent behavior which has the greatest impact on the child. Is the child more impressed with the times he gets away with things or with the punishment that befalls him occasionally.

3.14 Justification of Disciplinary Policy as Presented to the Child (Rational-Arbitrary)

The central concept of this variable is the way in which the control policy is conveyed to the child, the extent to which the parent provides the child with reasons for requirements and penalties. Does he behave as if the child has a right to know why each control measure is established?

The rater utilizes evidence from disciplinary situations, with supplementary evidence drawn from parental suggestions that are sufficiently mandatory to constitute a clear attempt to control the child. The parent's tendency to explain optional suggestions may also be considered an attempt to carry out a rational policy to the last detail. However, the most revealing situations are those in which there is some immediate emergency which decisively tests the limits of the parent's rational policy.

While the scale is not identical with Clarity of Policy (3.16), the rater should evaluate the parent's rationale in terms of its meaningfulness for the child. In order for a policy to be considered rational, the logic involved must be sufficiently apparent to the child so that he knows he is being reasoned with rather than handled in a peremptory fashion. The freedom

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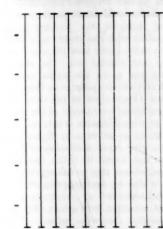
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Justification of Disciplinary Policy as Presented to the Child (Rational--Arbitrary)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Number
										Period of obser- vation
						F				Ratee Age in
				1						End of Period
				100						Child

Rate the parent's tendency to explain to the child the reasons for requirements and penalties. Does the parent attempt to put all discipline on a logical basis? Or are his policies presented in purely arbitrary fashion to the child?

Disregard restrictiveness of regulations, and readiness and severity of enforcement. Disregard the clarity with which regulations are codified, and the extent to which they are democratically set up. Include all control measures, whether pertaining to established policies or merely involving immediate suggestion.



- Goes out of way to show child practical reasons behind requirements and suggestions, even in emergencies or where explaining is difficult.
- Attempts to explain policies to child, as a general rule, but frequently arbitrary where the issue is very critical or complex.
- No apparent tendency favoring either the peremptory or the rational approach to child control.
- Arbitrary in most matters. Does not justify policies unless pressed. Often avoids the issue, or invokes moral precepts as reasons.
 - Never explains policies to child. Handles discipline in very arbitrary fashion, expecting child never to question "why".

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Rater's Remarks. (continue on back of sheet)

and confidence with which the child questions a disciplinary action implies an expectation that the parents will provide him with reasons.

The parent's motivation for a rational or arbitrary policy is disregarded. Some mothers provide a favorite child with a rationale simply as a pleasant concession, giving him a succession of reasons for desired behavior in coaxing fashion. Others are rational only when arbitrary techniques fail them, belatedly reinforcing a direct command with myriad reasons. Some may be rational when they are in control of the situation but consistently arbitrary when they meet opposition or are emotionally aroused. The rating is based upon the most common occurrence, the parent's usual way of handling dis-

ciplinary situations. A mother who frequently meets opposition and behaves arbitrarily would rate low; another who meets less rebellion and therefore is less frequently arbitrary rates higher but not as high as parents who have a consistent policy of explaining requirements to the child.

The entire range described by the cue points on this scale is useful, both extremes occurring frequently. Behavior described by the first cue is completely arbitrary. Commands are given in peremptory fashion, and for the child to ask for a reason is itself a punishable offense. Mothers who give the impression that explanations are concessions which diminish her control over the child are rated near the first cue. They assume either that the reason is apparent to the child

or that a child requires no reasons. The range of the second cue describes people who may explain when pressed or may tolerate arguments which put them in the position of having to produce some kind of logical reason. These reasons tend to be superficial or evasive, "because I said so", or "I know what's best", or "because you'll get a whipping if you don't do it", and are often a threat of punishment in the guise of rationalization. On occasion semi-logical explanations such as "because it is nice", or "because you might hurt yourself" will be employed.

The middle range on this scale includes many people who are haphazard or inconsistent about either the rational or arbitrary approach to the child. The mother may given an explanation in making a request but become arbitrary if resisted: frequently this is the treatment of a favorite child in an otherwise arbitrary home. The parent may not volunteer explanations, but can be pressed by argument, resistance, or direct

questions from the child.

Parents whose usual practice is to give logical reasons for regulations, punishments and suggestions are rated in the range of the fourth cue. The habit of substituting reasons for the request itself is indicative of the kind of behavior found; they may say "that's hot" or "it's nine o'clock", these explanations having been utilized about regulations until they've acquired symbolic meaning. The nature of the explanation is not the critical factor; it may be given in terms of physical danger, health, the social desirability of certain kinds of behavior, and so on. But in general it is acceptable to the child as an objective reason for this curb on his freedom. These parents are distinguished from those at the extreme by the fact that they may abandon their rational program in emergencies perhaps, or even in less critical situations yield to their own mood on occasion, etc. At the upper extreme are parents who reason with the child whatever the cost in delay or argumentation. Their very consistency seems to stem from a deliberate policy. They refrain from enforcing penalties until convinced that the child understands, persist in trying to convey reasons behind regulations even at times when the child's emotional state of inattentiveness may preclude his following the dialectics.

Age is a factor in this rating since the degree of comprehension shown by the child limits the extent to which the parent can provide him with reasons. The rater is required to recognize that the number of emergencies or situations in which explaining is difficult decreases with increasing competence and comprehension on the part of the child. At the younger age level, it is interesting to note the time at which the mother starts explaining control measures to the child. Some may underestimate his comprehension. whereas others start in infancy if only to establish a habit of rationality.

3.15 Democracy of Regulation and Enforcement Policy (Democratic-Dictatorial)

Democracy of regulation is a scale describing the degree to which the parent considers the child's wishes and gives him a voice in policy formation, or is autocratic, handing down policies from above. In a general sense it reflects a parental attitude of respect for the child as an individual with his own motivations, abilities, and interests, and a right to a self-determined existence. Such parents recognize restrictions as curbs on the child's individuality, albeit necessary ones, and integrate the training process as much as possible with the child's own wishes by giving him a voice about how the regulations will be set up and carried out. The observer must determine how much the parent consults with the child and adjusts policies to the child's expressed wishes. Observation of the child indicates a great deal about his concept of the weight carried by his expressed desires. There are some children who make no attempt to express their wishes and who give every indication of knowing that an attempt would be futile. Others reveal lack of confidence that consideration will be given their wishes by overcompensating with extreme argumentativeness or resistance to all parental control measures. Still others offer their opinions tentatively, somewhat unsure of the result, sometimes reinforcing it with coaxing or argument. And there are still others who express opinions casually and with confidence that their wishes are respected as legitimate and will be given serious attention.

As described by the cues, this variable implies a deliberateness in the parental policy. While it is true that the parents at the upper extreme are usually those with a formalized policy, parents can function at any point on the continuum without conscious forethought. The rating depends on the functioning program and should not be influenced by the presence or

absence of a verbalized policy.

Since consultation and communication play such a central role in the concept of democracy, the scale is difficult to use at lower age levels. The child must achieve considerable verbal ability before the kind of democratic relationship described by the upper cues is possible. Ratings can be made for young children, but consultation with the young child is a subtle process. The parent must act according to what he thinks the child's wishes are, so that for young children democratic policy formation is largely dependent on the parent's benevolence

Democracy of Regulation and Enforcement Policy (Democratic-Dictatorial)

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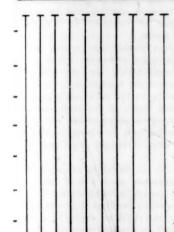
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Rate the parent's tendency to share with the child the formulation of regulations for the child's conduct. Does the parent give the child a voice in determining what the policy shall be? Or does the parent hand down the established policy from above?

Disregard immediate issues not covered by policy (See Coerciveness of Suggestion). Rate independent of justification of policy to child, and independent of restrictiveness of regulations. Include both overt consulting with child and considering child's expressed wishes. Dictatorial policies may be wise or foolish, benevolent or selfish.



- Endures much inconvenience and some risk to child's welfare in giving child large share in policy forming. Consults with child in formulating policies whenever possible.
- Attempts to adjust policies to child's wishes wherever practicable. Often consults child.
- Deliberately democratic in certain safe or trivial matters, but dictates when there is a sharp conflict between child's wishes and other essential requirements.
- Neither democratic nor dictatorial, deliberately. Follows most practical or easiest course in most cases.
- Tends to be rather dictatorial, but usually gives benevolent consideration to child's desires. Seldom consults child.
- Dictatorial in most matters, but accedes to child's wishes occasionally when they do not conflict with own convenience or standards.
- Dictates policies without regard to child's wishes.
 Never consults child when setting up regulations.

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Rater's Remarks; (continue on back of sheet)

and understanding. Throughout this early period the rater must look for evidence that the parent tries to observe and utilize the child's readiness for restrictions and training programs.

Behavior such as that described by the first cue point is rarely found in an average group of homes, even among those parents who have a definite philosophy of authoritarianism. It implies to an unusual degree the suppression of a child's individuality by dominating adults who run the household entirely to suit their own convenience. Implicit too is a certain hostility to the child since it denies many areas where the adult might be benevolent without a sacrifice of his own comforts. In the range above this are

found those parents who, in varying degree, dictate policies without concern for the feelings, attitudes or needs of the child. This may be a matter of conscious philosophy that "mother knows best" or it may stem from the mother's strong need to dominate.

In the next range the domination is less uncompromising and begins to have a softer, more benevolent flavor. Without consulting the child, the parent still may often take into consideration what he thinks the child might want and may modify his policies if they seem to frustrate the child or make him too unhappy.

In the middle range are found some mothers who have little conscious intention to be either authoritarian or democratic. In many areas they tacitly recognize the superiority of the child's judgment about his own needs and acquiesce to his desires; in others they retain the reins of parental control and deal decisively with regulation making.

Above this group democratic functioning emerges more clearly. More areas of the child's life are under his own authority or he is clearly consulted for his opinion. Though the cue definitely states a split between what is important and what is trival, this dichotomy may exist only in the parent's or the adult's mind. The impact on the child should be that in certain areas, which may be of considerable importance to him, he is either his own authority or is consulted about the regulation to be applied.

The upper ranges of the scale describe an ever-widening area of child-participation. More and more regulations are open to scrutiny by parent and child alike as to feasibility and necessity. More and more of the affairs of the family are considered to be whole-family problems with the child's opinion solicited and given appropriate weight.

At the extreme is found behavior which is determined more by ideological predilection than concern for the child's or the family's welfare. It is here, for example, that one finds disproportionate weight given to the very young child's wishes or loss of privacy to all members of the family because every aspect of an individual's own life is made subject to democratic control.

3.16 Clarity of Policy of Regulations and Enforcement (Clear-Vague)

To rate clarity of policy the observer must appraise the lucidity with which the parent's standards are conveyed to the child, the degree to which the policy actually is clear to him. For the child a clear policy is one in which he knows what is expected of him, what will be the consequence of his behavior, when he is free to use his own judgment, and under what conditions he might expect regulations to be set aside.

In general the child forms his concept of parental policy from what his parents say and from what he learns of it through their actions. Consequently, the rating must take into account the clearness with which the parent describes his policy, the consistency with which he executes it, and, in the final analysis, the accuracy of the child's understanding of it. Some children show amazing facility in interpreting parent behavior which mystifies or confuses the observer; others seem confused by what appears to the visitor clear-cut and consistent behavior.

The observer looks for evidence in the behavior of the child as well as in that of the parent. Conformity or non-conformity need not be considered here, being more applicable to Effectiveness of Policy (3.18). Rather, the rater must look to see if the child is well enough aware of the regulations that he can proceed confidently, or whether he must ask permission continually, demonstrating uncertainty about what is allowed or tolerable behavior. Such a child may start an activity with caution, as if waiting to see if he's to be allowed to continue and he may seem to feel he is getting away with something when he successfully evades interruption. Genuine uncertainty must be distinguished from a deliberate testing of limits. Any child may test the limits of parental control, but if the enforcement policy is clear, he will not appear surprised or confused by the consequences of his action.

On this scale a parent may receive equivalent ratings for quite dissimilar behavior. Fer example, a parent at the low end might be rated there because she is emotional, vacillating in policy according to her mood, or because she ignores the child much of the time and only occasionally pursues a policy of any sort at all; still another mother may be unclear because she is unsure of what technique will meet with

Throughout the middle range of the scale are parents who formulate some sort of policy but who are vague enough in its execution that the child must frequently readjust—e.g., the parent who assumes in the child an ability to generalize from one area to another when the child is still incapable of this feat, or the parent who fails to take into account the child's short memory span.

The upper range of the scale describes those parents who have rigid and meticulous policies of regulation and enforcement; here also are found parents who are more flexible in the execution of their policies but who achieve clarity in conveying to the child reasons for exceptions or apparent contradictions. Meticulous adherence to precise standards is not in itself, of course, the ultimate of clarity, particularly when viewed in the light of continually changing circumstances. A flexible policy need not be less clear than a rigid one provided exceptions and departures from existing standards are understood by the child.

On this scale it is important not to overlook the potential clarity of the autocratic "mind mother" policy. Such a program does not necessarily provide well-formulated generalizations about how the child is to conduct himself, but in some homes where parental authority is rigorously enforced it is altogether clear to the

Clarity of Policy of Regulations and Enforcement (Clear--Vague)

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Rate the clearness with which the parent's standards of child conduct are manifested to the child. Are regulations and requirements clearly formulated and consistently executed, so that the child should be able to know what is expected of him and what will happen if he fails to conform? Or are the parent's standards and policies so vague or fluctuating that the child has little chance of adjusting?

- Schedule and other standards are precisely formulated and adhered to meticulously. Parent goes out of way to maintain clear, consistent policy regardless of special circumstances.
- Policies are sometimes adjusted to meet unusual circumstances, but on the whole they are clear-cut and consistent.
- There is a core of reasonable consistency about parent's policy, which serves as a stable basis for adjustment despite numerous minor fluctuations and vagueness about details.
- Standards are usually formulated, but exceptions and modifications are frequent enough to keep child readjusting. Schedule often upset.
- Regulations vaguely formulated. Enforcement uncertain and inconsistent. Child's basis for adjustment is slight, even in some major matters.
 - Policies of parent in dealing with child are so erratic, unformulated, and inconsistent that child can never know what to expect. Schedule chaotic.

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child that conformity to the mother's immediate suggestion or command is the general rule and that failure to conform results in prompt and direct punishment.

The age of the child is an important factor to consider in evaluating the clarity of parental policy. Consistency of day-to-day schedule, for example, tends to be more important in the life of the young child than in the older. Clear standards show a consideration of the child's limitations; short memory span, inattentiveness, and lack of facility for generalizing make it imperative that the younger child have more reminders and warnings in learning the policy of the home. This same meticulous pronunciation

of policy with an older child may be repetitious beyond need, distracting and vague in its total effect, preventing the child from making the generalizations of which he is capable.

3.17 Effectiveness of Policy of Regulations and Enforcement (Successful-Unsuccessful)

This scale measures the success of the parental policies of regulation and enforcement in producing the desired behavior, that is, desired by the parents. The rating is based upon the child's conformity to the parental standards, regardless of the nature of the standards or the manner in which they are enforced. Some parents may prescribe so few requirements that their chil-

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FELS PARENT BEHAVIOR RATING SCALE NO. 3.17

Serial Sheet No.

LLS PACENT BEHAVIOR MATING SCALE NO. 3.1

Effectiveness of Policy of Regulations and Enforcement (Successful--Unsuccessful)

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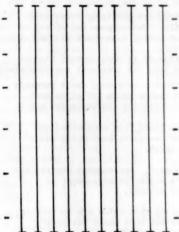
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Rate the degree to which the child's conduct meets the standards set by the parent. Is the child well-behaved? Or does the child fail to meet the requirements implied in the parent's control policy?

Rate in terms of the child'snet overt behavior, disregarding the amount of coercion, threats, penalties, etc., employed in producing the behavior. Disregard child's inner conflicts in conforming.



- Child conducts himself in accord with the parent's standards in every respect. Parent's policy achieves its goal.
- Parent attains goal in all major respects and most minor ones.
- Policy predominantly successful, although it fails in many instances and respects.
- Successfulness very questionable. Parent's regulations and enforcement fail to produce the desired results about as often as they succeed.
 - Parent's policy fails to elicit the desired behavior in most of the important aspects of control.
 - Child's overt behavior is entirely at odds with standards implied in policies of parent. Policy completely unsuccessful.

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dren need only stay out of jail; if the child conforms to these few rules, the rating of the parents would indicate effectiveness.

The rater must first decide what standards are implied in the parental policy. The parent's statements of goals and ideals, the behavior she praises and condemns, the kind of suggestions she makes all provide evidence for a diagnosis of the parental goals.

Then the observer must make an independent evaluation of the child's conformity to the parental standards. Effectiveness as defined in this battery is not the parent's feeling of satisfaction with his success, but is the rater's opinion of this success. Some parents are blind to their children's faults even though their standards may be clearly expressed; others are critical and carping even though the child is conforming very closely to the parent's standards. In the first case the parent is rated ineffective, regardless of her belief that her child is just right, and in the second case the parent is effective, even though critical.

It is the over-all effectiveness of the parental policies rather than the success of the parent in obtaining conformity in specific disciplinary situations which is important. While the parent who follows through a disciplinary situation until the

child conforms is more effective than the parent who fails to enforce expressed regulations, the mere existence of disciplinary situations is evidence for non-conformity. It is further necessary to determine which aspects of the control policy are of major significance to the parent; the fact that a child is rebellious about certain incidental requirements is less important than his conformity or non-conformity in what the mother thinks are vital areas.

The lower range of the scale describes those children whose behavior is predominately at odds with parental standards. Parental goals of control are flouted quite indiscriminately. This rebellion on the child's part need not be accompanied by disciplinary friction, though in many instances the child will win out only after a pitched battle. In other instances, however, the parent yields without a struggle, perhaps retaining only the silent hope that the child will "come to his senses" and ultimately conform to the family standards.

The middle range of the scale describes those children who are neither notably conforming nor rebellious. Those just below the middle of the scale tend to be rebellious in certain fairly important areas; those just above the middle usually conform to important parental rulings but disregard less central aspects of the control policy. The upper range of the scale is used to describe those children who tend to exemplify "what the parents had in mind", the extremity of the rating depending on how thoroughgoing and perfectionistic the conformity is. The exact nature of the child's behavior, the amount of conformity which is considered appropriate by the parent, etc., will obviously depend on the nature of the parental requirements, being flexible to the degree that the policy itself is flexible.

3.18 Disciplinary Conflict (Contentious—Concordant)

This scale measures the friction involved in the parental attempts to control the child's conduct. As distinct from earlier disciplinary scales in the battery, this variable deals with both routine regulations and immediate suggestions—all efforts to control the child's behavior rather than just disciplinary ones. It is akin to some of the home variables in that the behavior of both parent and child are important. It reflects both the parent's tendency to permit lapses and the child's tendency to conform or to resist control measures.

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Evidence is more readily obtainable with young children, since the home visit situation tends, as the child grows older, to be inhibiting for both mother and child. Where the observation period has not been especially productive of situations in which the parent attempted to

control the child, the rater may depend on interview or on such volunteered remarks from the mother as "he won't do anything without a fight", or "there's no use in arguing with him".

The lowest cue is usually inapplicable to a quite young child, since neither the parent nor the child is likely to be so self-controlled about the disciplinary requirements. For older children this cue usually describes a harmonious relationship in which the child is so conforming as to forestall all conflict, or the parent so lax as to effect the same result.

The range of the next cue is used to describe relationships which are essentially concordant with only mild friction; it is equally apt for all age levels. Evidence of this type of situation—the two-year-old who says "no", stamps his foot and promptly complies with the original request; the mother who enforces regulations so rarely that an issue is seldom created; the child who is generally conforming, suggestible, takes corrections lightly and only rarely resists.

Relationships which are characterized by more give-and-take are rated in the middle range; there may be conflict over isolated issues but the mother and child aren't regularly geared for battle. In the range above this are rated children who consistently rebel, but whose lapses are sometimes tolerated; mothers who exhibit considerable antagonism and display hostility in their control policies before they ever meet resistance; relationships in which interaction of any kind involves wrangling, argument, hot dispute. This extreme is laden with hostility, exchange of insults, punitive parent behavior and persistently disobedient child behavior.

There are kinds of behavioral inconsistencies which make certain cases difficult to rate on this scale. Calm mothers who continue enforcement in the face of rebellion but neither threaten nor grow angry are, for example, hard to appraise. Conversely, there is the mother who threatens and accuses, though the child is entirely conforming. Since tantrum behavior on the part of either parent or child creates an atmosphere of contention, friction cannot be described as mild in these instances. On the other hand, they should be rated somewhat lower than those relationships in which the hostility and resistance is mutual.

Another kind of inconsistency which the rater must resolve is that in which the child is selectively resistant—perhaps obeying general suggestions but fighting routines. Resistance can only be evaluated then in terms of the mother's standards; how much value she attaches to a certain area of her policy and how much friction in one area carries over into her general treatment of the child.

It might be added that "overt conflict" as

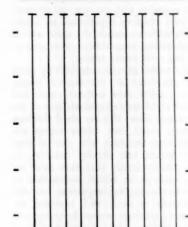
Disciplinary Friction
(Contentious—Concordant)

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Rate the amount of overt parent-child conflict over the enforcement of regulations and requests. Is the relationship between parent and child characterized by continuous wrangling, resistance, and rebellion in regard to child's conduct? Or is discipline characterized by harmonious coordination, without bickering, threats, refusals, and penalties?

Disregard whether child's conduct meets parental standard. The question is, how much disharmony occurs as part of the parent's attempt to control the child's conduct, both in enforcing routine standards and in making immediate suggestions.



- Situations to which regulations or standards apply are always characterized by overt parent-child conflict.

 Parental demands resisted. Friction continuous and acute.
- When child is supposed to do (or not to do) something, there is usually an argument, struggle, threat, or penalty. Friction frequent and marked.
- Parent invokes penalties, child resists, etc., rather frequently, but harmonious adjustment in disciplinary situations is somewhat more usual. Friction moderate.
- Parent-child clashes occur now and then, but they are exceptional, superficial, or mild.
 - Disciplinary conflicts are exceedingly rare. Either the child conforms docilely, or the parent tranquilly permits lapses. Friction extremely mild or absent.

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defined in the scale must be interpreted to include various subtleties of resistance and friction on the part of either parent or child—the parent who yields but "stays mad" at the child over a period of time; the child who acquiesces sullenly and in a long-suffering manner.

3.21 Quantity of Suggestion (Suggesting-Nonsuggesting)

As contrasted to "regulations" parental suggestions are of a non-disciplinary character. The parent may influence the child in other ways than by enforcing pre-established regulations and requirements. These other techniques,

called "suggestions" in this and the next scale, 3.22 Coerciveness of Suggestions, are used in situations not covered by existing rules, though they may be as coercive as rules. Suggestions may be optional or mandatory. The variable being measured here is sheer quantity of suggestions; ratings on this variable measure merely the frequency of parental suggestions and are not influenced by their content or their coerciveness. The motivation behind parental suggestions may vary; in some cases mothers are deliberately suggesting because they believe they should control the child's immediate behaviors, while in others a free flow of advice and sugges-

Quantity of Suggestion (Suggesting-Non-suggesting)

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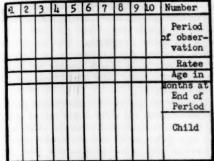
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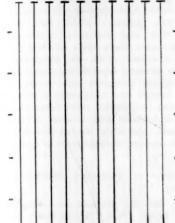
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Rate the parent's tendency to make suggestions to the child. Is the parent constantly offering requests, commands, hints, or other attempts to direct the child's immediate behavior? Or does the parent withhold suggestions, giving the child's initiative full sway?

This does not apply to routine regulations and their enforcement. Rate only where there is opportunity for suggestion. Note that "suggestion" is defined broadly, including direct and indirect, positive and negative, verbal and non-verbal, mandatory and optional.



- Parent continually attempting to direct the minute details of the child's routine functioning, and "free " play as well.
- Occasionally withholds suggestions, but more often indicates what to do next or how to do it.
- Parent's tendency to allow child's initiative full scope is about equal to tendency to interfere by making suggestions.
- Makes general suggestions now and then, but allows child large measure of freedom to do things own way.
- Parent not only consistently avoids volunteering suggestions, but tends to withhold them when they are requested, or when they are the obvious reaction to the immediate situation.

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tion is a temperamental trait characteristic of all social relationships, not just the parent-child area. Some mothers, on the other hand, deliberately withhold suggestions in an effort to encourage the child's initiative and self-expression, whereas others may be equally non-suggesting through lack of interest.

The lowest range of the scale is used either for parents who clearly limit their influence over the child's behavior to the establishment of disciplinary policy, taking care not to intrude on his activities in other situations, or for those who make no effort to supervise him in any way. People of the latter type are those who seem to

the child to be completely indifferent to what he is doing or who respond to requests for advice with a kind of generalized placid approval, a "do it your way" attitude. At the second cue are those parents who rarely interfere by telling the child what to do in an immediate situation. They may respond with advice and criticism when help is requested but in general refrain from initiating such interaction. Another kind of parent at this cue may indicate general courses of action to the child or suggest areas for him to try out for himself but definitely refrain from a play-by-play direction of his activities. A similar rating may indicate the parent who is

more or less aware of the child's activity, not quite indifferent, but certainly not so involved that he gives much direction or unsought for help.

The range of the third cue includes those people who expend considerable effort in directing or influencing the child's activities but who refrain from detailed intervention or who supervise only certain areas of his behavior with any minute attention. For example, the mother may try to influence the child's choice of activity but allow him independence in the execution of his plan, or she may let the child make his own choice but be ready with suggestions for effective implementation. This range can also describe mothers who intensively bombard the child with suggestions when they are watching or participating but ignore him at other times, thus allowing him long periods in which free play is "free".

Near the fourth cue are rated those parents who have definite ideas about what the child should do with his time and who liberally exert their influence to bring the child into accord with these opinions. They produce a steady stream of suggestive remarks during any period of interaction with the child-"Why don't you finish that", "go outside and play", "don't run flat-footed", "give Johnny a turn". It is in this range that the rater must exercise special caution against rating negative suggestions higher simply because they are negative; the content of the suggestions must be ignored and the judgment strictly in terms of quantity. Some mothers are forever saying "stop that" and appear generally dissatisfied with anything the child does, but an equally important group are forever saying "wouldn't it be nice to . . ." and thus interfering with the child's own activity, though in a more positively phrased form.

At the upper extreme are found, almost by definition, the naggers who are never content to let the child start or complete his own activity. The mother who has such rigid standards of the proper way things are to be done that she instructs the child step by step in making up a doll bed, or the mother who follows the "find out what he's doing and stop him" policy which involves minute direction and control of the child's most trivial acts—these are examples of parents rated at the high point on quantity of suggestion.

One difficulty inherent in the definition of this scale is that of distinguishing between routine regulations and suggestions. This differentiation is meaningful—since it is important to discriminate between a restrictive policy and an interfering or stimulating one—but is likely to be somewhat tenuous in certain autocratic homes where the general policy is "mind mother" and

all control or "influence" measures are, accordingly, rules. In such cases the rater obviously will not be able to separate the two kinds of evidence but must treat all control measures alike for purposes of this scale, rating the parents' tendency to invade the child's life with directives or to avoid interfering. The subtle differences between 3.12 (Readiness of Enforcement) and this scale cannot readily be shown for such homes, since such distinctions do not ordinarily exist.

It is easier to decide what constitutes parent interference when the child is playing or going about his own business than when the child takes on the role of host along with the parent, helping to entertain and make conversation with the visitor. Even in social conversation, however, one mother may give the child an independent role in the conversation while another may encourage him to answer questions which have been directed to him and interrupt, correct, or elaborate his stories. Since older children have many more activities which are independent and free from parental supervision, quantity of suggestion logically decreases with the age of the child. A mother who hangs over an adolescent, attempting to influence every detail of his activity with supervision and criticism is, therefore, much rarer than is the mother who makes an equivalent number of suggestions to a threeyear-old.

3.22 Coerciveness of Suggestion (Mandatory-Optional)

This scale, like the previous one, describes "suggestion" rather than "regulations", but measures the degree to which the parent's suggestions in immediate situations demand obedience or are left optional with the child. On this variable quantity of suggestions is disregarded, and the crucial question becomes: "Is the child disobedient if he ignores this suggestion?" In trying to interpret the suggestion as the child sees it, the rater should not, however, use the child's own conformity as the test; a child may or may not jump into action at a mandatory suggestion. There are mothers who are mandatory to the extreme, whose every suggestion sounds like a sergeant's bark, but who never get the prompt obedience they demand. It is nonetheless clear that the mother's manner is a coercive one, that she is given to ordering the child around, and she should be so rated regardless of the child's conformity or rebellion. Persistence in repeating what at first seemed an optional suggestion may also give a mandatory

As described previously, the distinction between regulations and suggestions is not clear in those autocratic homes where obedience to all FELS PARENT BEHAVIOR RATING SCALE NO. 3.22

Coerciveness of Suggestion (Mandatory--Optional)

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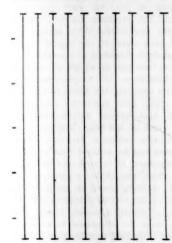
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Rate as to their dictatorial quality the parent's suggestions in dealing with the child's immediate behavior. Does the parent attempt to control a situation by issuing orders or commands, to be obeyed? Or does the parent make his suggestions optional, or discretionary, with the child?

Apply only where parent is trying to influence child. Try to see through the verbal form to the significant content for the child—does the suggestion demand obedience, or is it a "mere suggestion?"



- Efforts to control child take form of peremptory orders, to be obeyed at once, even in trivial matters.
- Suggestions not quite absolute in coerciveness, but immediate compliance is expected in matters of any importance.
- Parent coercive in major affairs, but uses optional suggestions where there is no important issue.
- Definite tendency to avoid coercion where possible, but uses it when exasperated or persistently unsuccessful with non-coercive suggestion.
 - Commands resorted to only in life-and-death emergencies. Parent goes out of way to avoid coercion in his suggestions to child.

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Rater's Remarks: (continue on back of sheet)

suggestions is itself a rule, but such homes must obviously be rated high on coerciveness of suggestions

While the verbal form of suggestions may provide some clues as to the parent's tendency to be mandatory or optional, the tone of voice is probably more crucial in conveying the meaning to the child. A mother may habitually use a certain phraseology, yet be optional at one time and coercive another. "Would you like to pick up your toys now", though politely worded, may leave the child no alternative but punishment.

Behavior described by the first cue ordinarily

occurs as part of deliberate parental policy rather than haphazard reaction to the child's immediate behavior. These parents may offer few or many suggestions to the child, but carefully refrain from attaching obligation to such suggestions. Usually they are mandatory only in emergencies, e.g., forbidding a child who can't swim to jump in the deep end of the pool. In other situations the mother may have a real personal preference as to what the child does but she attempts to make the suggestion in an optional form in order to give the child free choice.

The next cue implies that the parent is somewhat more determined in his efforts to influence the child, so that in the face of a persistent noncooperative attitude or resistance to optional suggestions the parent may "break down" and demand obedience. This range frequently includes the coaxers and pleaders who lack confidence in their ability to control the child and therefore make only tentative efforts to do so. Near the third cue are found a variety of parents; one kind is the gentle but firm, mildly coercive mother who may not demand prompt obedience, but who gets conformity sooner or later. Another is the mother who varies from optional to mandatory suggestions according to her mood at the moment or the importance of the issue. These parents usually act according to the immediate situation more than from deliberate or intellectual conviction.

The fourth cue describes parents who are primarily dictatorial in their efforts to influence the child, who say "do this", rather than "will you do this", but who have their easy-going moods from time to time, are less decisive perhaps in situations they consider unimportant. The upper range indicates behavior in which the parent gives the child no leeway at all, issuing orders that demand prompt and exact conformity to the letter. For childen of these parents procrastination or contradiction is clearly a disciplinary offense.

3.3 Accelerational Attempt (Acceleratory-Retardatory)

This scale is designed to measure the attempt of the parent to push the child toward maturity, in some or all aspects of his behavior. The problem to be faced in the selection of evidence is to limit it to that which is strictly called for by the scale, i.e., to divorce acceleration from the parent's general standards of how the child should behave. In this, as in other scales, the impact on the child is the fundamental consideration. It is helpful to the rater in determining this impact to consider the mother's motivation. Acceleration will generally be felt more by the child if the mother deliberately provides an acceleratory environment than if she is simply reflecting the child's wishes. A conscious attempt at acceleration is not, however, a prerequisite for a high rating on this scale; e.g., a mother in rejecting a child may unwittingly force upon him a degree of independence beyond his years, or may furnish him activities and outlets to relieve herself of his demands and thus establish an acceleratory program. In attempting to rate the impact on the child the rater must, on the other hand, avoid the circular reasoning involved in deducing that any precocious child must perforce have been subjected to intensive training. With regard to training which takes place completely outside the home, the important factor is whether it was deliberately instigated by the mother. The mother who sends a child to nursery school, to kindergarten, who has the child take piano lessons or encourages him to join the Boy Scouts with an eye to developing new skills, is, in a sense, attempting to speed up the child's rate of maturity although the actual training is delegated to someone else. If, on the other hand, the parent is merely following the child's wishes or using such facilities to provide greater freedom for herself, the impact on the child is not likely to be one of acceleration. Likewise, the parent's tendency to expose the child to problems or to make him responsible for his own actions may or may not be accelerational.

The individual child must be specifically considered in terms of his age and degree of maturity because the evidence for acceleration differs at various age levels. With infants the rater looks for such signs as the rapidity with which the schedule is modified to resemble that of older children, the age at which the mother graduates the child from crib to playpen, when she initiates toilet training, the kinds of toys she selects for the child, how much she urges him to crawl, walk, and imitate sounds. Parental training in all areas of self-help, feeding, dressing, etc., constitutes evidence for the rating. Still later, evidence can be secured from varieties of areas-the assignment of household chores and the degree to which the child is given self-responsibility; the training given in using family equipment such as the record player or car. All training in special abilities, social, motor, and language skills, must be evaluated in terms of whether it comes early and vigorously or late or not at all. For purposes of the actual rating, training must be examined in the light of its relationship to the child's age, the regularity and vigor with which it is pursued, and the extent to which it pervades all areas of the child's life.

There is a clear-cut difference between the kinds of behavior described by the first two cues, the most extreme being a retardatory "keep him a baby" sort of program, while the next is much more casual. An example of the parent rated at the extreme is one who keeps a child of average ability from entering school when he is six because she thinks he is too immature. The mother rated at the next cue is relatively unstimulating but does not try to protect the child from acceleratory influences; she doesn't teach the child to feed himself, but finally relinquishes the spoon to him and lets him teach himself when he makes the effort.

The third cue describes the parent who puts in effort occasionally or only in certain areas, e.g., the parent who inaugurates toilet training FELS PARENT BEHAVIOR RATING SCALE NO. 3.3 Serial Sheet No.

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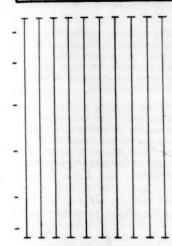
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Accelerational attempt (Acceleratory—Retardatory)

Rate the parent's striving to increase the rate at which the child's behavior is maturing. Does the parent deliberately train the child in various mental and motor skills which are not yet essential; or is the child left to "grow naturally"; or even shielded from accelerational influences?

This variable is restricted to purposeful teaching and training. It includes mental, motor, social, language, and personal skills. Disregard the effectiveness of the training. Consider the energy the parent exerts in striving to accelerate the child's behavior development.



- Subjects child to regular and vigorous training to develop both essential and special skills.
- Continually uses deliberate teaching to accelerate child in various skills, but with less than maximal vigor or regularity.
- Frequently teaches and trains, but with restraint, and in limited number of skills.
- Accelerational attempt is restrained and occasional only.
- Almost entirely lacking in any deliberate training. Child left to grow "like Topsy."
- Protects child from accelerating influences.

 Attempts to hold back rate of growing up.

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Rater's Remarks: (continue on back of sheet)

early but is indifferent to the child's progress in motor development, lets him achieve a crawl or learn to walk at his own leisure.

All mothers rated in the upper half of the scale give the child deliberate training—those nearer the middle of the group being the ones who carry on intensive programs in limited areas such as household arts, with accelerational attempts in other areas, such as social skills and academic performance, being less regular or vigorous. At the upper extreme of the scale are those parents who decidedly put the emphasis on education in child care, coaching the child in the most skilled and advanced way to do everything, systematically broadening the child's horizons

by introducing him to new areas and activities and then teaching him how to participate, providing many lessons, and organized social activities

The rater should watch for sudden shifts and contradictions of policy on this variable. There are many parents who consider some age mystically significant, remain casual and almost retardatory, for example, until the child enters school and then decide that he's reached the age "to learn". The birth of a sibling is quite often crucial, with the older child suddenly given greater self-responsibility, taught skills so that he can be less trouble to the mother, expected to become mature. There are also shifts in the

opposite direction when a mother becomes increasingly busy, perhaps as her family increases, and she has no longer the time to devote to training or stimulating the child's interest in new activities. Some parents put on the brakes at adolescence, suddenly try to keep their daughter "a little girl" for a while longer when previous emphasis has been in the direction of "act grown up; be a little lady."

4.1 General Babying (Overhelps-Withholds help)

This scale measures the degree to which the

parent treats the child as if he were older or younger than he actually is, either through overhelping him or refusing to help. The rater takes into account all situations where the parent gives the child assistance or withholds it at a time when it might reasonably be offered. This includes help in routines, suggestions which serve to solve the child's problems for him, the tendency to say "you try—you can do it" as opposed to "that's too hard for you—let me finish it". Fighting the child's battles for him against siblings or in any social groups by restraining or punishing his opponents, succoring when he

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General Babying (Over-helps--Withholds help)

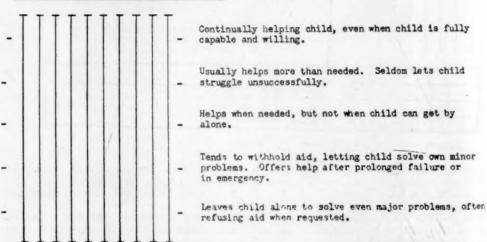
FELS BARENT BEHAVIOR RATING SCALE NO. 4.1

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										Age in
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										Child

Rate the parent's tendency to help the child through the ordinary difficulties of every-day life. Does the parent insist on helping in situations where the child is quite capable; or does the parent withhold aid even in major difficulties?

Rate relative to the child's ability. Disregard deliberate drill and training. This is a general variable including motor, mental, emotional, and social behavior. It applies only to tasks the child is attempting, not to parent-imposed requirements resisted by the child.



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Rater's Remarks: (continue on back of sheet)

is hurt or ill, justifying his behavior against outside criticism, relieving him of responsibility for his own behavior—all are pertinent to the

ratings on this scale.

Babying may be motivated by any of a number of needs on the parent's part: a concern with making the child's life easier by doing things for him; a desire to prolong the satisfaction of being a dominant individual; the pleasure in being looked up to and depended upon. Or the parent may feel it takes less energy and consumes less time to go ahead and do the task for the child than to wait for his slow, stumbling efforts on his own behalf.

Evidence includes any task which the child is attempting, the exception being situations in which the child is resisting parental requirements. When the parent enforces a regulation and the child says, "I can't do it", the observer must determine whether this constitutes resistance or a request for help. Throughout all age groups the rater must equate for the age and maturity of the child, deciding what the par-

ticular child "can" do.

Extremes on this scale are almost pathological. The first cue represents gross neglect or a purposeful policy of nonchalance carried to an unreasonable extreme. It implies more active policy on the part of the parent than merely ignoring the child; the parent overestimates the child's abilities or has a firm conviction that he can learn best through experience rather than adult help. This extreme parental attitude presupposes a willingness to let the child actually suffer

as a consequence of his inabilities.

Within the range of the second cue are those parents who do offer help, but only when the situation is urgent or when the child has really demonstrated a failure or an inability to help himself. These are the parents who may limit themselves to verbal directions, trying to stimulate the child himself to do the actual performance with whatever minimum of coaching is necessary. The next cue defines a parent who gives more help and is more ready to define a situation as one in which the child needs or deserves help. The parent may actually intervene in the situation, rather than assisting from the sidelines, but usually he is still alert to discover what the child can accomplish with effort, sometimes refusing a request when he judges the child might succeed without help.

The two upper cues represent increasing degrees of overhelping—the parent who can't bear to watch the child struggle, who values the child's dependence and his own role of superiority or dominance. Around the fourth cue are those parents who may allow the child to do simple things for himself but consistently underestimate his abilities in any new or diffi-

cult situation; they anticipate most minor difficulties, offer helpful suggestions in advance, solve many of the child's problems for him; they may discipline siblings or neighborhood children for hurting the child or excluding him. They are quick to respond to the child's requests for help or to any indirect indication that he doesn't think he can do a task without assistance. Parents at the upper extreme carry their intervention to the point where the child himself feels the intrusion, helping him even when he is ready and willing to perform for himself.

4.2 General Protectiveness (Sheltering-Exposing)

This scale indicates the sensitivity of a parent to threats to the child's welfare and his tendency to protect him from experiencing hazards. In selecting evidence for use in appraising the parent's protective attitude. it has been found helpful for the observer to develop some general but clear-cut concepts of what constitute serious and minor difficulties at various age levels. This is particularly important because protective parents can be very convincing about their protectiveness, e.g., the necessity for health precautions, tending to be so overly dramatic about the child's ills or the dangers of the neighborhood that it is hard for the visitor to know just what dangers do exist in this individual child's life. The observer must pay special attention to the child's behavior, watching for indications of what situations provoke fear or arouse caution in him as a clue to parental indoctrination and its impact. General clues can be obtained often from the mother's justification of her disciplinary policy; there is a real distinction, for example, between a command not to jump on the davenport because 'it is hard on the furniture" and "because you might fall off and hit your head".

Because this scale embraces all areas of the child's life, it is peculiarly subject to the difficulty of parental inconsistency; that is, a parent may be almost phobic on the question of physical health and health precautions and yet expose the child to major psychological trauma. Another parent, more sophisticated psychologically, may be overconcerned with possible effects on the child of weaning, toilet-training, etc., and follow a very protective, careful course in these areas at the same time that she tries by any available means to make the child rugged, selfsufficient and independent. Also, a consideration of the implications of protectiveness may involve the rater in a logical dilemma in that anything she considers to be maladjusted about the home is, in one sense, a psychological danger to which the child is exposed. And, conversely, all the aspects of the home which are well-adjusted are FELS PARENT BEHAVIOR RATING SCALE NO. 4.2

General Protectiveness (Sheltering—Exposing)

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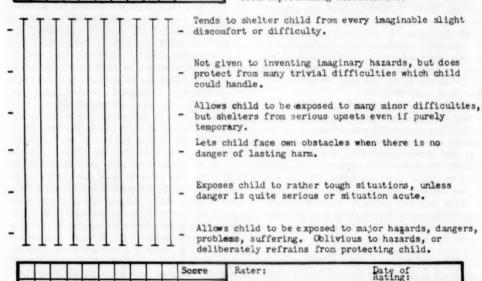
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Rate the parent's reaction to threats and hazards to the child's well-being. Does the parent tend to keep the child unnecessarily sheltered, and prevent difficulties from reaching the child? Or does the parent tend to expose the child to dangers, perplexities, and difficulties?

This is a broad variable, including protection from physical, bacterial, emotional, mental, and social hazards. Rate relative to the child's maturity. Disregard whether child is aware of protection. How much does the protective attitude of the parent tend to protect the child from experiencing difficulties?



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Rater's Remarks: (continue on back of sheet)

psychological protections. This interpretation destroys the usefulness of the scale in describing the traditionally overprotective home because at the logical extreme overprotection is itself a psychological danger. Therefore, it has been found desirable to rate the mother's protectiveness with regard only to dangers, physical or psychological, which are external to her own personality.

While this scale is closely related to babying, it must be considered as independent in rating. Theoretically, a parent can protect the child by surrounding him with a "safe" environment in which he is sheltered from discomfort and difficulty but leaving him, within that environment.

to solve his own problems. Protectiveness is more likely to consist of parental efforts to manipulate the environment—physical or psychological—in the child's behalf, while babying is more directly concerned with doing things to and for the child.

Date:

Dates

Date:

The first cue point is rarely used, then only for parents who are extremely neglectful, allowing the child to encounter hazards of a serious nature in most areas of his life and showing considerable insensitivity to his suffering. More frequently parents are severely exposing in some areas but are sufficiently cognizant of and responsible about the child's physical needs to be rated in the range of the second cue. Parents

who have a deliberate philosophy of exposing the child to tough situations on the theory that he will more rapidly learn to protect himself against them are rated here. Also included here are those parents whose exposing policy may not be deliberate but whose lack of insight and sensitivity is such that the child is unprotected in major ways.

The third cue is intellectual in its terminology, and the rater will find that this range includes both parents with deliberate policy and those who gauge their behavior by the child's own development. Some will carefully decide what is "lasting harm" and what is not, protect against undue bacterial exposure or psychic trauma but deliberately expose the child to not so-serious dangers, pushing his developing self-sufficiency. The others will allow their children to take such risks as the children themselves choose but will protect them from getting out of their depth.

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In the range of the fourth cue are those parents who are realistic about what are actual dangers for the child but who don't like to see him anxious or distressed and therefore are fairly cautious about any exposure. It is in this middle range of the third and fourth cues that the distinction is found between parents who would keep a child home from nursery school at a time when he is threatened with an exposure to measles and those who would send the child deliberately, reasoning that if he gets them it will be all right because it is good to have them over with. Parents at the fourth cue are tentative in their encouragement of the child to expose himself, ready to reinstate protective measures if he is over-reactive.

The fifth cue describes people who go to some lengths to protect the child from health hazards, minor physical injuries and emotional distress, giving as reasons for most restrictions, "you might get hurt". They have finicky standards of what constitutes a desirable playmate and protect the child from much ordinary social experience with contemporaries. They fight the child's battles for him, keep him home from school on any pretext, are overly attentive to health, watchful for symptoms and run to the doctor with minor ailments.

The top cue represents this kind of protection carried to the irrational extreme, the parents with near phobias about bacteria or who see every child in the neighborhood as a potential thug.

5.1 Readiness of Criticism (Critical-Uncritical)

This scale measures parental tendency to express an evaluative attitude toward the child's behavior; it might be considered a continuum which at the low end implies that almost

nothing the child does is subject to appraisal one way or another while at the upper extreme every act is recognized and reacted to either positively or negatively.

Evidence is derived from all parent-child interaction; it consists of the expressiveness with which the mother reacts to the child-smiles, nods, compliments, frowns. In some instances an adult may use stony impassivity as a means of showing disapproval to the child. Parents of older children are very likely to inhibit direct reactivity in the presence of a visitor, and the rater may have to put more reliance on the parent's account of the child, how much evaluative material emerges in contrast to an objective descriptive discussion. Interview material should be viewed with caution, however, as many parents will present a critical picture of the child in talk about him who make a policy of withholding such criticism from the child himself. In evaluating evidence the rater must continually be aware of the fact that the content of the criticism is disregarded for purposes of this rating, the term "criticism" being used in its broadest sense to include all evaluation, both approval and disapproval. Evidence must be appraised in terms of both the readiness and the vigor of critical reaction.

Ratings in the range of the low end of the scale include those people who through disinterest or deliberate inhibition do not express evaluations of the child's behavior, differentiation between cases being determined largely by how much an individual must be pressed before he reacts critically. The middle range includes those people who may respond vigorously when their attention is called to the child's behavior but who are not prone to insert appraising comments or suggestions. This range can also be used to describe parents who are quick and free mexpressing approval but who withhold unfavorable criticism, and vice versa. If a mother reproaches the child readily but rarely praises him it can be interpreted that his praiseworthy behavior is unimportant to her, that she is more alert to certain kinds of behavior. At the high end of the scale are those people who are highly expressive of all kinds of evaluative sentiments, putting some kind of value on everything the child does, act by act. These parents are observant and aware of everything about the child, his appearance, attitudes, conduct, and are highly uninhibited about expressing their feelings and reactions.

5.2 Direction of Criticism (Approval-Disapproval)

This scale measures the content of the parent's critical reaction to the child's conduct and personality, the tendency either to find fault or to

FELS PARENT BEHAVIOR RATING SCALE NO. 5.1

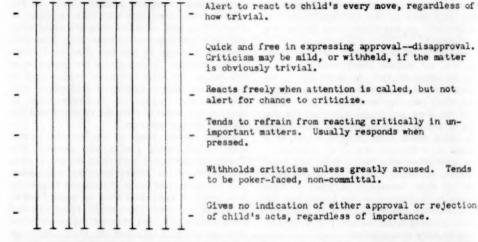
Readiness of Criticism
(Critical-Uncritical)

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Rate the parent's tendency to express an approval—disapproval attitude toward the child's behavior. Does the parent readily and vigorously express a reaction to things the child does; or is the parent non-committal, repressed, uninterested or stoical toward the child's actions?

Rate the tendency to express criticism regardless of whether it is approval or disapproval. Criticism may be verbal, gestural, or by facial expression or tone of voice—any signal to the child indicating approval or rejection of his behavior in a specific situation.



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Rater's Remarks: (continue on back of sheet)

praise. It also deals with the quality of the evaluation, how lavish the praise or devastating the disapproval in relation to the child's objective behavior.

Evidence includes all criticisms of which the child is aware, those directed to him or made in his presence, direct comments, inflection of voice, facial expressions, etc. The rater must minimize the readiness or frequency with which the parent criticizes the child, appraising only the direction of such criticisms as are made. So far as possible the rating should be divorced from the general halo of the parent's fondness for or demonstrated affectionateness toward the

child. In focusing directly on the quality of expressed criticism, it is helpful to consider situations that come up in isolation, so to speak—what was the mother's reaction to the child's grade card, what did she say when he came in with torn and muddied pants, etc. Another good cue is the parent's tendency to blame or excuse the child in the face of inconclusive evidence; does she jump to the conclusion that the child is at fault, withhold judgment, or give the child the benefit of the doubt, preferring to ascribe blame to forces beyond his control?

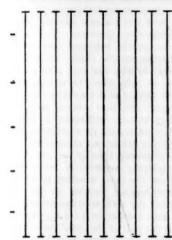
At the most extreme are those parents whose emotional reaction is so hostile that they canFELS PARENT BEHAVIOR RATING SCALE NO. 5.2 Serial Sheet No.

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Direction of Criticism
(Approval—Disapproval)

Rate the direction of the parent's critical reaction to the child's behavior. When the parent reacts does it tend to take the form of praise, approval, acclaim? Or does blame, disapproval predominate?

Rate only situations where a critical reaction occurs—a reaction to behavior, rather than general affectionateness or hostility. Criticism may be verbal, gestural, or by facial expression or tone of voice. It may be expressed either directly to the child or with the child as a witness. Rate relative to the merits of the behavior criticised.



- Warm, unambiguous praise and commendation toward even rather ordinary behavior. Shortcomings overlooked or excused.
- Emphasis on approval. Most disapproval is sugar-coated with simultaneous acclaim.
- Balanced criticism. Praise, or disapprobation, predominates only as merited by child's behavior.
- Tends to disapprove more readily than to approve.

 Most praise is tempered with faultfinding. Unduly critical of details.
- Parent always finding fault. Ignores or belittles praiseworthy behavior, picking out minor details to criticise disproportionately.

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not recognize, any of the child's behavior as commendable, expressing a continual attitude of disfavor whatever he may do. In general, the parents at the low end of the scale are those who take commendable behavior for granted, scolding the child when there is an occasion for criticism but ignoring or belittling rather than praising when he conforms to or exceeds their requirements. Such dampening remarks as "I'm glad to see you've managed to bring that grade up in arithmetic—but you certainly ought to be able to do better than that in English and geography—the fact that you came up in arithmetic just shows you haven't been trying."

The range of the middle cue is used to indicate those parents whose criticism is quite closely correlated to the child's actual behavior; generous praise is not used as a device for encouragement, but on the other hand failings are not exaggerated.

The upper range of the scale describes those parents who are generous with praise, either through lack of discrimination or through overestimation of the value of the child's performance, but who refrain from scolding or inhibit expressions of disapproval. The mothers who are most indiscriminate and lavish in praise are rated at the top; these are the "gushers." In

the fourth cue the phrase "sugar-coated" should not be interpreted necessarily as gushing but is more likely to mean that the mother takes pains to clarify for the child the fact that it is his immediate behavior which is disapproved rather than his personality as a whole. At the upper extreme parents excuse the child's short-comings or misdemeanors, relieve him of responsibility by placing the blame elsewhere or by reassuring him that it was a mistake and not his fault; those mothers nearer to the middle of the scale may depersonalize unfavorable criticism but do not artificially excuse the child. Also, they can freely and comfortably compliment or praise behavior of which they approve.

As the child grows older, the visitor is likely to find that the parent shows more reserve about direct expressions of approval or disapproval and it is necessary to interpret more subtle evidence. However, with older children, the distinction between approval and affectionateness (8.3) is clearer. Mothers of older children tend to praise more for specific abilities or interests as separate from generalized warmth toward the child. In rating these cases it is necessary to supplement observation with the mother's remarks in the child's absence; obviously it is essential to decide how fully such an evaluation does get through to the child. Some mothers are complimentary and frankly proud of their child's various abilities when talking about him but are nonetheless belittling in direct interaction. In such cases the rating will be determined by what the child experiences; if he indicates awareness of his mother's pride in him the rating would be raised accordingly.

6.1 Readiness of Explanation (Satisfies curiosity-Thwarts curiosity)

The variable defined by this scale is parental treatment of the child's intellectual curiosity, measuring whether the parent encourages the child and satisfies his search for information or thwarts and evades him. The impact on the child is that of freely accessible answers or, at the other extreme, a feeling of being frustrated in his search for information. Since the crucial aspect of this scale is the impact on the child, the objective accuracy, depth and honesty of answers is not, per se, relevant. Hence the instruction to disregard such factors. The rater is not asked to appraise how much factual information is made available to the child but rather the extent to which the answers given him satisfy his curiosity. It may be an empirical fact that, in the long run, accurate answers will satisfy him more than dishonest ones, or that the mother who finds it necessary to answer inaccurately will give that fact away to the child and thus thwart him, but such considerations are not part of the definition. Should the rater find that the child perceives the inadequacy of the answers and is, accordingly, frustrated, the rating would be lowered.

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Types of evidence which are useful in appraising the parent's behavior are the patience with which questions are met and the willingness to provide answers; it is helpful to note the parent's limits, determining how busy or tired or preoccupied he must be before he evades questions. The parent need not answer all questions to rate high. Questions which are not an expression of curiosity but are devices for prolonging contact or for teasing may not be answered by a parent who tries diligently to satisfy curiosity; the same kind of parent may suggest references that the child himself can pursue or may recommend techniques by which the child can work out his own answers instead of actually answering questions. The subtle tone behind the parent behavior helps to determine the impact on the child; one mother, for instance, may furnish her boys with a baseball rule book to help them in settling their disputes on the subject and encourage them to use it on the basis that it is a better authority. She may further indicate willingness to discuss any rulings they are unable to understand from the book, generally taking an interest in their problems and following through to make sure they obtain satisfying answers. A less willing mother would use the same situation in quite a different manner, saying, "you've got the rule book, why bother me with your questions".

While this scale implies by its design certain verbal skills on the part of the child, meaningful ratings can be made at younger levels before the child is able to ask why or how in the strict verbal sense. As soon as the child reaches the stage of ability to explore beyond the confines of his crib there are potential situations for explanation; the permissiveness with which the parent views the child's efforts to see and touch and know, versus his refusal to let the child experience and experiment with external stimuli is in itself a type of explanation of the environment.

7.1 Solicitousness for the Child's Welfare (Anxious-Nonchalant)

This scale reflects the parental tendency to be anxious about the child's welfare, as distinct from his efforts to relieve threatening situations by manipulating the child or the environment. The rating measures his readiness to interpret situations as threatening or the child's behavior as a problem and thus to reveal to the child an attitude of worry. Evidence must be evaluated in terms of the objective dangers of the situation and the parent's reaction, whether panicky or

FELS PARENT HEHAVIOR RATING SCALE NO. 6.1

Readiness of Explanation (Satisfies curiosity—Thwarts curiosity)

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Rate the parent's tendency to satisfy the child's intellectual curiosity. Does the parent readily respond to the child's "Mhy?" and "How?" questions; or is the child thwarted in attempts to get information and explanation from the parent?

Disregard accuracy, depth, and honesty of answers. Note that explanations which are too ambitious, or too forced, may rate low; and the furnishing of specific references may rate high. Active coaching to think for self may rate high. Do not confuse with mental babying—a parent may refuse to do the child's simple thinking, and yet go out of his way to help with difficult explanations.

- Never too busy to answer child's questions as adequately as possible. Anticipates questions. Encourages curiosity with willing explanation.
- Goes out of way to answer fairly involved questions, but sometimes postpones till child is older. May erade when very busy or very tired.
- Usually tries to satisfy child's curiosity. Sometimes loses patience with persistent "Why?"s.
- Answers simple questions when in good humor and not preoccupied, but seldom goes beyond minimum needed to shut child up.
- Explanations are grudging and reluctant where any mental effort is required. Parent often evades the issue.
- Thwarts child's curiesity. Actively discourages questions with "Too busy", "You're too young to know", "Just because", etc.

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calm, to such dangers. Clues are available in the extent to which the parent's control policy emphasizes dangers to the child and his reaction when the child is attempting something which is dangerous—e.g., can the parent "stand" to see the child climb a tree or attempt other feats which are potentially threatening but actually within his abilities to master? Does the parent tend to anticipate disaster—jumping in alarm every time a toddler takes a tumble—or view his bumps with calm and reassurance? To what extent is the parent at ease at times when he doesn't know where the child is or what he is doing.

The dangers about which the parent worries obviously change with the age of the child. With an infant the mother may be excessively fearful about germs or anxious about malnutrition if the child leaves part of his bottle. When the child is learning to walk she fears a fractured skull from every bump or tumble. When he starts to nursery school she is anxious lest he be overly disturbed by this separation from home or be rejected by the other children. She may worry about exposure to germs, "bad companions", contrary behavior standards, etc. In evaluating the objective hazards faced by the child to which the mother is reacting, the rater must

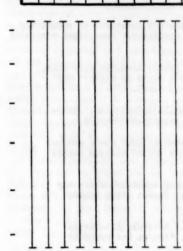
FELS PARENT BEHAVIOR RATING SCALE NO. 7.1 Serial Sheet No.

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Solicitousness for Child's Welfare (Anxious--Nonchalant)

Rate the parent's tendency to display overconcern for the child's well-being. Is the parent readily excited to overt anxiety all out of proportion to the importance of the situation? Or is the parent markedly calm, cool, and nonchalant, even in the face of critical danger to the child?

Consider the parent's net behavior, regardless of the motives behind it. Include only behavior which is a potential stimulus to the child, impinging more or less directly upon his awareness. Include concern for both physical and mental health and confort.



- Given to severe, irrational anxiety on largely imaginary grounds. Readily panicked.
- Chronic anxious tension over child, but more "ittery" than panicky. Given to "hunting for trouble."
- Shows considerable anxiety when child is in any danger, but seldow loses rational control.
- Somewhat solicitous, but minimizes hazards. Frequently shows concern, but without losing perspective.
- Rarely worried or solicitous beyond needs of situation and responsibility as parent. Attitude more like that of teacher or nurse.
- Nonchalant and seemingly unconcerned even in major matters.
 So unsolicitous as to appear neglectful or irresponsible.

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Rater's Remarks: (continue on back of sheet)

keep in mind that as the child grows older there are probably fewer hazards quantitatively but those which exist are realistically more acute. For example, driving a car, drinking, sex experimentation, etc., may present greater traumatic possibilities than the ordinary hazards of childhood—diseases, falls, bicycle accidents and the like. In every case the rating must take into account any special reality factors which pertain—e.g., the anxiety of a mother about the physical safety of a child who is awkward and poorly coordinated need not imply as high a rating as a similar amount of solicitude toward a skillful child, well-controlled in motor areas.

Similarly, a mother who controls her anxieties about a child with a congenital heart defect is rated lower than the mother who exhibits the same control but without an equivalent reality situation to which she must adjust.

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7.2 Acceptance (Devotion-Rejection)

Acceptance measures the parent's fondness for the child, his enjoyment of contacts with him, the amount of intimacy which he seeks, the degree to which the child is a central part of his emotional life. In general, acceptance, more than any other of the warmth variables, is an over-all rating, dealing not so much with speFELS PARENT BEHAVIOR RATING SCALE NO. 7.2

Acceptance of Child (Devotion-Rejection)

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Rate the parent's acceptance of the child into his own inner circle of loyalty and devotion. Does the parent act in such a way as to indicate that the child is considered an intimate and inseparable partner? Or does the parent act as though he resents the child's intrusion and rejects the child's bid for a place in his primary area of devotion?

Consider all evidence which in any way may impinge upon the child as acceptance-rejection, however subtle, vague, or indirect. It is not the parent's true feeling, but his attitude, as a functioning unit in the child's environment, which we are rating.

- Parent's behavior toward child commotes utter devotion and acceptance into his innermost self, without stint or suggestion of holding back in any phase of his life. Parent clearly accepts child. Includes child in family
- councils, trips, affection, even when it is difficult or represents considerable sacrifice.
- A "Charter member" of the family but "kept in his place".

 Parent accepts child in general, but excludes him from
 certain phases of parent's life.
- Tacit acceptance. Excludes child so frequently that to the child the rejection attitude may seem to predominate even though parent takes acceptance for granted.
- Parent's predominant tendency is to avoid, repulse, and exclude the child, but without open rejection.
- Child openly resented and rejected by parent. Never admitted to inner circle. Made to feel unwanted, ostracized.

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cific behavior of the parent as his generalized attitude. So evidence for the rating may come from any source—the parent's pleasure in talking about the child, incidents which reveal camaraderie, the parent's loyalty to the child in the face of just or unjust criticism, and the warmth and responsiveness of the parent to the child directly.

Although acceptance is a qualitative variable which is not rigidly descriptive of specific behavior, it must nevertheless be rated in terms of impact on the child and must, therefore, be overtly expressed in terms which are meaningful to him. The rater should not try to indicate

basic unconscious mechanisms of hostility or identification unless they are tangibly evident to the child. The specific behavior connoting acceptance or rejection may change conspicuously according to the age of the child. Intellectual intimacy is impossible with an infant and yet is particularly relevant as the child grows older. The rater must consider what behavior is appropriate for a certain age child and then try to determine the emotional attitude directing the behavior.

The parent at the bottom extreme of the scale is either hostile and antagonistic or neglectful; he deliberately excludes the child from his plans, his confidence, from conversation and from social interaction within the family, either because he is expressing an active dislike or because he is trying to ignore the child's existence. At a slightly higher rating is found a parent who is less consciously antagonistic or who displays a minimum of kindness to the child, either out of guilt or the mood of the moment. The child, in other words, is not universally displeasing to the parent.

The next range implies a certain amount of emotional neutrality which may often impinge on the child as dislike although the parent's feelings are not so strongly hostile. This parent may be so preoccupied with his own adult life or so indifferent to the needs and interests of children as unwittingly to exclude the child from the most central parts of his life. Slightly above this cue is the parent with a rather generalized sympathetic interest in the child but a definite compartmentalization of this interest. At special times or in special moods he may be closely identified with the child but in general a gulf separates the child and adult worlds. As these instances of intimacy become more frequent the rating becomes higher.

The next cue represents a thorough-going acceptance of the child. He is an important member of the family, not merely a satellite, and either through design or because of enjoyment he is included in many aspects of family life in which his participation is not apparently essential-even sometimes at the expense of adult

comfort or convenience.

Parents rated at the very highest end of this scale are generally so devoted to the child and so psychologically inseparable from him as to represent a situation of narcissistic identification.

8.1 Understanding (Keen-Obtuse)

The concept involved in this scale is the parent's ability to see the child's point of view, his capacities and needs, and the degree to which his behavior toward the child shows sensitivity to him as an individual. The rating reflects the parent's awareness that the child is a person to be understood, that children differ from adults and from one another, that their abilities, interests and motives bear a reasonable relationship to behavior, that these vary with the age of the child, that the individual child will show similarities to others his age and at the same time demonstrate his uniqueness. Such understanding necessitates considerable self-insight, recognition by the adult of the meaning of his own behavior for the child, and the separation of the child's needs from his own.

Evidence includes all aspects of the parent's behavior, the things said to and about the child, what is done to him, the goals set up for his attainment and the pressures put upon him. An articulate mother who readily verbalizes her interpretation of the child's personality and behavior and her own may seem, if this interpretation appears valid to the rater, more understanding than the woman who is unable to produce the rationale for her activity. The rater should be careful not to underestimate the latter, however, since the point at issue is "functional parental intelligence" and a number of people seem to have a quick and instinctive sense of the child's needs and how to satisfy them without being able to put this process into words.

A related problem is that of the parent who has keen intellectual insight into the child's behavior but whose actions belie this insight, particularly when he becomes emotionally involved with the child. The rater must try to determine how much the child gets the benefit of the understanding, how much he's the victim

of the emotions.

Parents at the extreme low end of the scale are those who give the impression of having no feeling or sympathy for the child's personality. They may conceivably be people who have deep social sensitivity to other adults, even "try" to understand their children, but fail because they're confused by child behavior or because they project too many of their own contrary motives on the child, or simply lack empathy with him. They fail to interpret the child, or completely misinterpret him, and accordingly their policies of dealing with him bear no relationship to the child's abilities, needs and

The range of the second cue describes parents who recognize the most obvious needs of the child but are markedly superficial in categorizing behavior. They tend to expect too much or too little from him, regularly frustrate the child by their inability to grasp what he is trying to say or do. They are as obtuse about the reasons for his success as for his failures.

The next cue is descriptive of parents with a fair idea of the child's developmental schedule. They know in general what he can do, that he is an affectionate child or a shy one, that certain kinds of situations frustrate him. They show, however, little sensitivity to his subtle mood variations and frequently misinterpret his plays

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for attention or affection.

At the high end of the scale are parents whose interaction with the child demonstrates a good grasp of most situations, who don't seem surprised or confused by the child's behavior and manage to give him evidence of their understanding. Differentiation between individuals within the high range depends largely on the subtlety the parent displays, those who toss off glib clichés being rated lower than those who FELS PARENT BEHAVIOR RATING SCALE NO. 8.1

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Understanding (Keen--Obtuse)

Rate the parent's understanding of the child's abilities, needs, point of view, etc. Does the parent's behavior indicate a thorough and intelligent understanding of the child; or does it indicate a failure to appreciate the child's capacities and limitations, and an inability to meet the child on the child's own level?

This might be called "functional parental intelligence". It includes insight, foresight, child-empathy. Always rate in terms of the specific child.

- Parent always sees subtleties of child's motivation; shows accurate appreciation of child's interests and degree of maturity.
- Usually shows thorough understanding of child. Occasionally fails to see the point.
- Has good grasp of every-day situations, but often misses the subtle angles.
- Usually shows common sense where the point is obvious, but incapable of keen analysis.
- Entirely lacking in subtlety; often misses the obvious.
- Completely fails to see the child's viewpoint, capacities,
 limitations. Expects entirely too much or too little.
 Fails to meet child on child's own ground.

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Rater's Remarks: (continue on back of sheet)

carefully watch the child for clues and draw him out when they find his behavior confusing. The mother with more ordinary insight, for instance, recognizes aggression toward a new sib as "jealousy" but is confused if the older child shows some less directly related problem behavior, e.g., regression to bedwetting. Likewise, when she recognizes sib rivalry, the more astute mother is the one who tries to make up for the displacement rather than punishing for jealousy.

8.2 Emotionality (Emotional-Objective)

This scale measures the extent to which the parent's general behavior toward the child is emotionally demonstrative and colored by her

feelings about the child or her own mood of the moment. It includes the emotionality or objectivity with which policy is formulated and executed as well as the tenor of general feelings. All parents have emotional feelings toward their children, positive or negative, but in some instances disciplinary policy is formulated rather in terms of abstract theory or in conformity to an accepted cultural plan and as such is somewhat divorced from the parent's attitude toward the child personally. For other people, the disciplinary policy itself is an expression of such an attitude. Similarly, execution of policy may or may not reflect emotionality; some parents carry through a planned course of action ration-

FELS PARENT BEHAVIOR RATING SCALE NO. 8.2

DO TENENT DESIGNATION MATERIAL CONTROL NO.

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Emotionality (Emotional--Objective)

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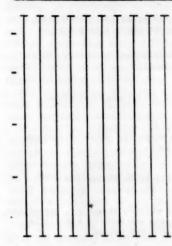
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Rate the emotionality of the parent's general behavior toward the child. Is the parent's reaction highly emotional; or is it consistently cool and objective?

Rate only in situations where there is sufficient cause for emotion to bring it out if it is there. Combine frequency and intensity of emotion. Combine direct expression of emotion and irrational distortion of policy due to emotion. "Emotion" as used includes manifestations of rage, panic, grief, disgust, love, mirth, or sympathy, where feeling predominates over reason.



- Parent constantly giving went to unbridled emotion in reaction to child's behavior.
- Controlled largely by emotion rather than by reason in dealing with child.
- Expression of emotion largely inhibited, but policy
 readily disorganized. Emotion freely expressed, but actual
 policy seldom much disorganized.
- Usually maintains calm, objective behavior toward child, even in face of strong stimuli.
 - Never shows any sign of emotional disorganization toward child, either directly or in policy.

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ally and in a detached fashion, while for others the execution of their policy is intensified, colored or disorganized by emotionality. And, finally, emotional attitudes may express themselves in numerous situations unrelated to disciplinary affairs.

Both the frequency and intensity of the parent's emotional response in a given situation must be evaluated and, in addition, varieties of situations must be equated in terms of their stimulus value. For one parent a certain type of misbehavior is potentially more disturbing than for another; the observer, must be careful, however, not to let the decision about the stimulus value of a situation be determined by the parent's reaction to it but should, rather, try to evaluate how parents in general react to situations of this kind. For example, when a child is discovered messing in mud, a mother may get excited, showing anger or repulsion by yelling at him, dragging him away, or, in overreacting in some other fashion. Or, she may maintain her composure, even cooly and deliberately punishing the child if this is, in her terms, a misdemeanor. Likewise, if a child is hurt or sick, one mother may be so frightened that she is helpless or incompetent, while another cares for the child and soothes him without revealing her own fears. When the mother is discussing the child, the rater should

look for such remarks as "he makes me so nervous", "I can't punish him when he turns on that smile", and other similar evidences of emotional reaction to the child's behavior.

The visitor is frequently required to integrate inconsistent evidence. Some mothers, for example, respond readily and intensely when the emotions called for are pleasant ones—joy, mirth, etc.—but impose stern control on themselves otherwise. Others respond with flighty excitement to little things but meet a crisis with considerable calm. As always, the rating should be made in terms of impact on the child; in this instance, the rater tries to decide whether the child's dominant impression is of a parent who is calm or erratic.

Mothers rated at the low end of the scale are those who remain calm during the period of observation and, in addition, do not report evidence of emotionality. The lowest cases probably are those people who make a deliberate attempt to repress emotional responsiveness or to maintain a mask-like serenity, quite detached from actual feelings. In the next range are those people who have emotional stability, managing to express a range of feelings to the child without becoming disorganized. In the range just below the middle cue are those mothers who are primarily calm or who inhibit emotional reactions except when powerfully motivated.

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The area of the middle cue describes the majority of people who do get upset and show their disturbance either directly or in policy. These are the mothers who show their fright if a child falls down and really gets hurt but who are sufficiently realistic to retain their calmness if the child is not hurt. Or they retain their poise in the face of initial child resistance, show unconcern until finally their limit of tolerance is reached, when they break down and yell at the child in an excess of emotion.

Above the middle group, the rating depends on the degree to which parental reactions are dominated by emotion, to an extreme at which every little occurrence precipitates an emotional crisis. These parents get equally and unreasonably angry at offenses which are not actually equivalent. Some will consistently succumb and laugh at all the child's misdemeanors, even when they "know" they shouldn't. Their emotional feelings are at the surface, strong and constantly expressed.

8.3 Affectionateness (Affectionate-Hostile)

This scale involves the demonstration of warmth to a child, a devotional attitude revealed to the child through smiles, pats, lapholding, caresses, and verbal endearments. Both the overt behavior of the parent and the quality of fondness or hostility conveyed in his acts are

included in the rating. While the cues satisfactorily convey the quality of the behavior continuum which is being rated, the rater may not necessarily find all of the adjectives in a single cue point fitting for the individual parent being rated, e.g., he may feel a particular parent is appropriately rated at the second cue point but that he is "avoiding, annoyed, irritated . . ." and "icy" rather than "bothered". It should be emphasized that the scale does form a continuum from "affectionate" to "hostile" with the cues merely setting a general tone for the type of behavior to be rated at certain points.

This variable is, naturally, highly related to the age of the child since overt expressions of parental devotion to him become increasingly subtle as he grows older. A mother making a two-year-old welcome on her lap may be the equivalent of one addressing a ten-year-old in a friendly, smiling manner. The visitor, accordingly, should think of the two-year-old in terms of the usual behavior toward a child of this age. He should, in addition, avoid dependence on a "warmth" halo and not use approval, acceptance, etc., in lieu of specific evidence of the presence or absence of affectionate displays through physical fondling, kissing, and tender language. Accounts of what goes on in the privacy of the family are sometimes available and, of course, should be utilized. It is easy to ascertain the amount of fondling that a young baby receives; with younger children generally one can determine the degree to which a mother brings displays of affection into the routine handling of the childholding him on her lap while tieing his shoes, putting an arm around him and drawing him close when suggesting he put his toys away. The visitor's presence in itself may inhibit displays of affection toward an older child. One good way to secure information is to question about the child's own affectionateness; in describing the child's behavior the mother will generally reveal her own attitude and policy about demonstrativeness.

In view of the scale's correlation with age the few cases found at the first cue point are likely to be older children for whom the mother never has so much as a friendly word or smile. Furthermore, these people are unapproachable, rejecting affectionate overtures from the child, exhibiting a fixed, cold, forbidding expression. Almost the only parent who could rate this low in behavior toward a very young child is the one who so completely neglects him that she abandons ever routine handling of the child.

In the area of the next two cues are those mothers who ordinarily show antagonism but with less universality than in the most extreme cases; they may demonstrate a flash of warmth if the child does something particularly appealFELS PARENT BEHAVIOR RATING SCALE NO. 8.3

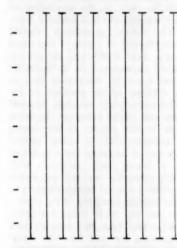
Affectionateness (Affectionate--Hostile)

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Rate the parent's expression of affection to the child personally. Does the parent manifest a warm, personal affection to the child; or a matter-of-fact, unemotional attitude; or definite antagonism?

Rate the attitude shown to the child, rather than the deeper one which affects the child only indirectly as through care, solicitude, or degree of devotion to the child's welfare.



- Passionate, consuming, intense, ardent, uncontrolled.
- Affectionate, warm, fondling, loving, expressive.
- . Temperate, fond, attached, forgiving, kind.
- Objective, inhibited, neutral, matter-of-fact.
- Cool, aloof, distant, forbidding.
- _ Avoiding, annoyed, irritated, bothered.
 - Hostile, rejecting, disliking, blaming, icy.

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ing. With a young child they are brusque and quick with routines, seldom allowing the necessary proximity to lure them into a fleeting caress; toward an older child they are remote, sarcastic, hostile, most of the time. Kissing the child is a ritual reserved for the moment before a train departs; verbal expressiveness is conspicuously absent. Parents in the lower half of the scale are more than inhibited about expressing affectionateness; there is active hostility in the tone to the child, unnecessarily cutting language, and a withdrawal response when the child displays warmth.

The middle cue implies neutrality and inhibi-

tion, expressing neither hostility nor warmth directly. These parents may be indifferent to the child, or they may be withholding or masking an active sentiment of antagonism or devotion.

The upper half of the scale describes those people for whom, in varying degree, expressiveness and affectionateness are typical. The fifth cue describes mothers who go "half way" in making apparent to the child that he is liked. With the young child this may take the form of considerable holding and cuddling, possibly baby talk and pet names. An older child may be greeted with interest and affection as he comes

in from school or play, the mother giving him a hug in passing or smiling at him. The two upper cues represent increasing amount and intensity of affectionate demonstrations, interference with the child's activities in order to kiss him, continual use of baby talk and endearing names.

The visitor frequently encounters cases of inconsistency on this variable, mothers whose mood may be intensely affectionate on occasion and yet equally hostile on others. It is helpful to determine what the child seems to expect, whether he seems confident when he solicits affection or whether his approaches are coy and tentative. In some instances it is necessary to

interpret parent behavior which might be babying and protective as well as affectionate. If a mother holds a child and rocks him to sleep the rater should try to determine whether the mother does it because he goes to sleep more readily or because it constitutes a good chance to hold him. Likewise, if she holds his hand when walking down the street, it may be to protect him from getting lost or it may be because handholding is pleasant to her.

8.4 Rapport (Close rapport-Isolation)

This scale describes the intimacy of the relationship between parent and child, the degree

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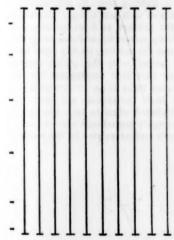
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Rapport between Parent and Child (Close rapport-Isolation)

Rate the closeness of the psychological relationship between parent and child. Do they show a high degree of rapport; or are they distant and out of touch with each other "spiritually", tending to be inhibited in each other's presence?

This variable includes mutual understanding, sympathy, confidence, and sharing of aspirations, intimate thoughts, and feelings. Rate it independently of the dominance-submission relationship. Do not confuse with antagonism-harmony.



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- Complete sharing of intimate thoughts and feelings. Implicit trust and confidence in each other.
- Close mutual understanding and sympathy, but with occasional, temporary lapses.
- Moderate degree of rapport in most situations; achieve close confidence in a good many respects, but fail in others.
- Do not get along together any too well, but; - occasionally a close relationship is temporarily established.
- Perfunctory relationship, superficial understanding, interest slight or forced. Tend to be inhibited in each other's presence.
- Spiritually isolated. No sharing of confidence and aspirations. No active interest in each other.

										Score	Later:	Date of Rating:
										Tolerance	Scored by:	Date:
		П							Range	Checked by:	Date:	
1	2	3	1,	4	6	7	8	0	10	Number	Tabulated by:	Date:

Rater's Remarks: (continue on back of sheet)

to which they enjoy or feel uncomfortable in each other's company. It should be emphasized that the relationship rated here is a reciprocal one; either the parent or the child may set the tone of "spiritual isolation".

Evidence for rating this variable includes how attentive parent and child are to each other. how much sensitivity and sympathy they show. how freely they express themselves to each other. The visitor should attempt to discover what kinds of things the parent and child do together. apart from necessary routines, whether or not they find things in common to talk about and are sensitive and sympathetic to each other's moods and interests. With an older child it is enlightening to discover how much the mother knows about the child's life-who his friends are, what games he enjoys playing, what kinds of movie and radio programs he prefers. How complete and accurate a picture can she give of him, or does he have a "double life"? It is important, moreover, that the rater not confuse rapport with Discord in the Home (1.5). though obviously the two variables are related. Parent and child may exhibit neutrality or indifference which preserves the amenities and even forestalls any discord, yet be quite isolated from each other psychologically. On the other hand, in many homes the patterned joshing and teasing to "get a rise" out of each other may go along and contribute to camaraderie.

Conceptually this variable is meaningful and discernible for all age levels; as the cues are written, however, some translation is necessary for the visitor to see the application with young children. Social behavior in young children being difficult to analyze, evidence is more intangible. An active, smiling, responsive baby and a mother who is interested and generally warm would be rated high, whereas the perfunctory mother and apathetic baby are rated low. The distinctions in the middle range of the scale are probably less meaningful for younger children than for older ones and will reveal less of the subtle differentiations between families

than the other warmth variables. The dependence of the young child is such a major factor in his psychological closeness to the parent that a certain amount of interplay of personalities is inevitable.

Few young children are found at the lower extreme, since the child's own dependence forces a close relationship to the parent. In older children, this extreme is demonstrated in relationships in which the mother and child have as little to do with each other as possible are continually estranged, tend to be cautious in dealing with each other and are withdrawn in each other's presence. Relationships which are in general distant but are marked by moments of togetherness would be rated in the range of the third cue; these parents and children may have a few activities in common; there may be a particular time of the day or even season of the year that brings them closer-e.g., both people may enjoy each other more when school is in session and they don't have to be together so much. Understanding and sympathy is superficial at this level, and the two rarely confide in each other.

At the range of the fourth cue the relationship is marked by general confidence, mutual interest and sympathy. Mother or child or both, however, maintain an inner area of privacy that is not revealed. The child, for example, who gives a headlong and enthusiastic account of his school day and activities may freeze up when asked about a spelling test. At the upper extreme, instances of isolation become increasingly rare. The child behaves as if completely confident of receiving sympathy and encouragement at all times, and the mother, on the other hand, has genuine accord with the child's interests and confidence that he'll understand her. The emphasis between them is on a "we" feeling. At this extreme both individuals are their most free and uninhibited when in each other's presence, are thoroughly acquainted with the other's tastes and moods and stimulated by the intimacy.

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